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Presidents Bush, Yeltsin Sign START II Treaty

Yeltsin Meets Bush on Arrival

LD0201121193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1202 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—U.S. President George Bush arrived in Moscow today. The guest was met at the steps to the aircraft in Moscow's Sheremetyevo airport by Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

James Baker, Barbara Bush Arrive

LD0201115493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1133 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 2 TASS—Former U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who is now White House chief of staff, arrived in Moscow today.

Until December 1992, Baker headed the U.S. Foreign Policy Establishment and a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START-2) was drafted with his vigorous participation. This landmark document, which is to be signed by the Russian and U.S. Presidents on Sunday, envisages slashing the two countries' nuclear arsenals by two thirds.

The U.S. President's wife Barbara Bush arrived in the Russian capital together with Baker.

Eagleburger Arrives

LD0201110793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1037 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Moscow, 2 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger arrived in Moscow today. He will be involved in the procedure for the signing by the Russian and U.S. Presidents of the START II treaty, which will take place in Moscow on 3 January.

The arrival of the U.S. President, who saw in the New Year with U.S. servicemen in Somalia, is expected later today. Ahead of his arrival an aircraft carrying George Bush's wife Barbara is due to land at Sheremetyevo airport. She will be arriving with James Baker, the White House chief of staff.

This evening the program for the visit envisages a dinner at the Kremlin's Faceted Chamber in honor of the U.S. visitor, which will be hosted by the Russian president. [passage omitted]

Summit Venue Switched to Moscow

LD0101144593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] Because of the deteriorating weather conditions on the Caucasus Black Sea coast yesterday evening, it has been decided to hold the Yeltsin-Bush summit not in Sochi but in Moscow, the RIA agency reports. The date remains the same, that is 2-3 January. This decision was adopted after specialists established that the Adler Airport runway has been covered with ice, thus creating difficulties too great for receiving the aircraft carrying the presidents and members of their delegations. RIA correspondents learned about this at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry.

This morning the weather at Adler Airport deteriorated even further. The numerous experts and security officers who have arrived in Sochi to prepare the summit are having problems returning to Moscow.

Yeltsin Dinner Toast Honors Bush

LD0201193593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1748 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jan (ITAR-TASS)—Boris Yeltsin, president of Russia, gave a dinner today in the Hall of Facets of the Moscow Kremlin in honor of President George Bush of the United States, who is in Moscow to sign the START II treaty. During the dinner both presidents gave speeches. Boris Yeltsin said:

Respected Mr. President! Respected Mrs. Bush! Respected members of the American delegation!

Ladies and gentlemen! Allow me first of all to greet you warmly on this frosty evening in the heart of Russia—the Hall of Facets of the Moscow Kremlin. Our meeting has not been hindered by pressure of work or complicated international problems or the weather. I will not conceal from you that I and the other members of the Russian delegation have very special feelings about tomorrow's event. I think our American partners share them as well. The START II treaty, which is ready for signing, and our meeting today only became possible as a result of the changes that have taken place in Russia and its relations with the world. Our state is striving to move forward. It is now spending colossal amounts of energy, but not on building MiGs or on the arms race. Today, we are busy carrying out great reforms, which will lay fertile ground for reaffirming freedom, democracy, and human rights in Russia—now and forever. We have shaken off the heavy load of hostility, and we are establishing cooperation between Russia and the United State in areas where even a couple of years ago the very thought of collaboration seemed a hopeless utopia.

Space and art, health care, and the destruction of nuclear warheads, ecology, and many other spheres of cooperation are developing intensively for the welfare of our peoples and the whole world. In February of last year, the presidents of Russia and the United States declared that Russia and America intend to be partners and in the future to be allies. Several months elapsed, and this intention was reinforced by the Russo-American partnership and friendship charter, and a framework accord on radical reduction of strategic offensive weapons was signed. A few months later we embarked upon signing an exceptionally important document in our joint movement to a more secure and free world—the START II treaty. This is our Christmas present to the peoples.

I hope we can preserve the dynamism in our bilateral relations. I am convinced that the atmosphere of trust that has become established between us will be maintained in our mutual relations with the new Washington administration, too, and that there will be no hiatus in the Russo-American dialogue.

On this momentous day, I address words of sincere gratitude to President George Bush, who has done so much to establish the Russo- American partnership.

In this connection, allow me to express my gratitude to the leaders and the people of the United States for the help and support which they are rendering to Russia in this exceptionally difficult period for us.

At the same time, we are fully aware that the success of transformations and the future of reforms depend primarily upon us ourselves. Nobody else will resolve all these problems for us.

I think it important that the might of Russia as a great power should henceforth be determined not by a number of missiles, but by the level of prosperity of its citizens, the development of its culture, education, and national traditions.

I should like once again to express my confidence that relations of friendship and partnership between our countries will be strengthened for the benefit of our people.

I raise a toast to George and Barbara, may happiness and success accompany them in the future!

To friendship between the great people of Russian and the United States!

To the success of our common course!

Yeltsin, Bush Begin Talks

LD0301081693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0801 GMT 3 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Titov]

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Talks between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President George Bush began in the Kremlin on Sunday morning. Taking part in the two presidents' talks, which are being held in the Green Lounge of the Grand Kremlin Palace, are as follows: On the Russian side—Defence Minister Pavel Grachev, Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and Dmitriy Ryurikov, assistant to the president on international affairs,

On the U.S. side—U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, White House Chief of Staff James Baker and Presidential National Security Adviser General Brent Scowcroft.

The talks are expected to be continued later on in a wider format. A ceremony to sign the START-2 Treaty is to be held at the close of the talks.

'Text' of START II Treaty

LD0301142593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1355 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Here follows the full text of the treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms. The treaty was signed in Moscow on Sunday by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President George Bush.

"The United States of America and the Russian Federation, hereinafter referred to as the parties,

reaffirming their obligations under the treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms of July 31, 1991, hereinafter referred to as the START Treaty,

stressing their firm commitment to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons of July 1, 1968, and their desire to contribute to its strengthening,

taking into account the commitment by the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, and Ukraine to accede to the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons of July 1, 1968, as non-nuclear-weapon states parties,

mindful of their undertakings with respect to strategic offensive arms under Article VI of the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons of July 1, 1968, and under the treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems of May 26, 1972, as well as the provisions of the joint understanding signed by the presidents of the United States of America and the Russian Federation on June 17, 1992, and of the joint statement on a global protection system signed by the presidents of the United States of America and the Russian Federation on June 17, 1992,

desiring to enhance strategic stability and predictability, and, in doing so, to reduce further strategic offensive arms, in addition to the reductions and limitations provided for in the START Treaty,

considering that further progress toward that end will help lay a solid foundation for a world order built on democratic values that would preclude the risk of outbreak of war,

recognizing their responsibility as permanent members of the United Nations Security Council for maintaining international peace and security,

taking note of United Nations General Assembly Resolution 47/52k of December 9, 1992,

conscious of the new realities that have transformed the political and strategic relations between the parties, and the relations of partnership that have been established between them,

have agreed as follows:

Article I

1. Each party shall reduce and limit its intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM's) and ICBM launchers, submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM's) and SLBM launchers, heavy bombers, ICBM warheads, SLBM warheads, and heavy bomber armaments, so that seven years after entry into force of the START Treaty and thereafter, the aggregate number for each party, as counted in accordance with Articles III and IV of this treaty, does not exceed, for warheads attributed to deployed ICBM's, deployed SLBM's, and deployed heavy bombers, a number between 3800 and 4250 or such lower number as each party shall decide for itself, but in no case shall such number exceed 4250.

2. Within the limitations provided for in Paragraph 1 of this article, the aggregate numbers for each party shall not exceed:

(a) 2160, for warheads attributed to deployed SLBM's;

(b) 1200, for warheads attributed to deployed ICBM's of types to which more than one warhead is attributed; and

(c) 650, for warheads attributed to deployed heavy ICBM's.

3. Upon fulfillment of the obligations provided for in Paragraph 1 of this article, each party shall further reduce and limit their ICBM's and ICBM launchers, SLBM's and SLBM launchers, heavy bombers, ICBM warheads, SLBM warheads, and heavy bomber armaments, so that no later than January 1, 2003, and thereafter, the aggregate number for each party, as counted in accordance with Articles III and IV of this treaty, does not exceed, for warheads attributed to deployed ICBM's, deployed SLBM's, and deployed heavy bombers, a number between 3000 and 3500 or a lower such number as each party shall decide for itself, but in no case shall such a number exceed 3500.

4. Within the limitations provided for in Paragraph 3 of this article, the aggregate numbers for each party shall not exceed:

(a) a number between 1700 and 1750, for warheads attributed to deployed SLBM's or such a lower number as each party shall decide for itself, but in no case shall such number exceed 1750;

(b) zero, for warheads attributed to deployed ICBM's of types to which more than one warhead is attributed; and

(c) zero, for warheads attributed to deployed heavy ICBM's.

5. The process of reductions provided for in Paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article shall begin upon entry into force of this treaty, shall be sustained throughout the reductions period provided for in Paragraph 1 of this article, and shall be completed no later than seven years after entry into force of the START Treaty. Upon completion of these reductions, the parties shall begin further reductions provided for in Paragraphs 3 and 4 of this article, which shall also be sustained throughout the reductions period defined in accordance with Paragraphs 3 and 6 of this article.

6. Provided that the parties conclude, within one year after entry into force of this treaty, an agreement on a program of assistance to promote the fulfillment of the provisions of this article, the obligations provided for in Paragraphs 3 and 4 of this article and in Article II of this treaty shall be fulfilled by each party no later than December 31, 2003.

Article II

1. No later than January 1, 2003, each party undertakes to have eliminated or to have converted to launchers of ICBM's to which one warhead is attributed all its deployed and non-deployed launchers of ICBM's to which more than one warhead is attributed under Article III of this treaty (including test launchers and training launchers), with the exception of those launchers of ICBM's other than heavy ICBM's at space launch facilities allowed under the START Treaty, and not to have thereafter launchers of ICBM's to which more than one warhead is attributed. ICBM launchers that have been converted to launch an ICBM of a different type shall not be capable of launching an ICBM of the former type. Each party shall carry out such elimination or conversion using the procedures provided for in the START Treaty, except as otherwise provided for in Paragraph 3 of this article.

2. The obligations provided for in Paragraph 1 of this article shall not apply to silo launchers of ICBM's on which the number of warheads has been reduced to one pursuant to Paragraph 2 of Article III of this treaty.

3. Elimination of silo launchers of heavy ICBM's, including test launchers and training launchers, shall be implemented by means of either:

(a) elimination in accordance with the procedures provided for in Section II of the protocol on procedures governing the conversion or elimination of the items subject to the START Treaty; or

(b) conversion to silo launchers of ICBM's other than heavy ICBM's in accordance with the procedures provided for in the protocol on procedures governing elimination of heavy ICBM's and on procedures governing conversion of silo launchers of heavy ICBM's relating to the treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, hereinafter referred to as the elimination and conversion protocol. No more than 90 silo launchers of heavy ICBM's may be so converted.

4. Each party undertakes not to emplace an ICBM, the launch canister of which has a diameter greater than 2.5

meters, in any silo launcher of heavy ICBM's converted in accordance with Subparagraph 3(b) of this article.

5. Elimination of launchers of heavy ICBM's at space launch facilities shall only be carried out in accordance with Subparagraph 3(a) of this article.

6. No later than January 1, 2003, each party undertakes to have eliminated all of its deployed and non-deployed heavy ICBM's and their launch canisters in accordance with the procedures provided for in the elimination and conversion protocol or by using such missiles for delivering objects into the upper atmosphere or space, and not to have such missiles or launch canisters thereafter.

7. Each party shall have the right to conduct inspections in connection with the elimination of heavy ICBM's and their launch canisters, as well as inspections in connection with the conversion of silo launchers of heavy ICBM's. Except as otherwise provided for in the elimination and conversion protocol, such inspections shall be conducted subject to the applicable provisions of the START Treaty.

8. Each party undertakes not to transfer heavy ICBM's to any recipient whatsoever, including any other party to the START Treaty.

9. Beginning on January 1, 2003, and thereafter, each party undertakes not to produce, acquire, flight-test (except for flight tests from space launch facilities conducted in accordance with the provisions of the START Treaty), or deploy ICBM's to which more than one warhead is attributed under Article III of this treaty.

Article III

1. For the purposes of attributing warheads to deployed ICBM's and deployed SLBM's under this treaty, the parties shall use the provisions provided for in Article III of the START Treaty, except as otherwise provided for in Paragraph 2 of this article.

2. Each party shall have the right to reduce the number of warheads attributed to deployed ICBM's or deployed SLBM's only of existing types, except for heavy ICBM's. Reduction in the number of warheads attributed to deployed ICBM's and deployed SLBM's of existing types that are not heavy ICBM's shall be carried out in accordance with the provisions of Paragraph 5 of Article III of the START Treaty, except that:

(a) the aggregate number by which warheads are reduced may exceed the 1250 limit provided for in Paragraph 5 of Article III of the START Treaty;

(b) the number by which warheads are reduced on ICBM's and SLBM's, other than the Minuteman III ICBM for the United States of America and the SS-N-18 [RSM-50] SLBM for the Russian Federation exceed the limit of 500 warheads for each party provided for in subparagraph 5(C)(I) of Article III of the START treaty at any given moment;

(c) each party shall have the right to reduce by more than four warheads, but not by more than five warheads, the number of warheads attributed to each ICBM out of no more than 105 ICBM's of one existing type of ICBM. An ICBM to which the number of warheads attributed has been reduced in accordance with this paragraph shall only be deployed in an ICBM launcher in which an ICBM of that type was deployed as of the date of signature of the START Treaty; and

(d) the re-entry vehicle platform [platforma boyegolovki] for an ICBM or SLBM to which a reduced number of warheads is attributed is not required to be destroyed and replaced with a new re-entry vehicle platform.

3. Notwithstanding the number of warheads attributed to a type of ICBM or SLBM in accordance with the START Treaty, each party undertakes not to:

(a) produce, flight-test, or deploy an ICBM or SLBM with a number of re-entry vehicles greater than the number of warheads attributed to it under this treaty; and

(b) increase the number of warheads attributed to an ICBM or SLBM that has had the number of warheads attributed to it reduced in accordance with the provisions of this article.

Article IV

1. For the purposes of this treaty, the number of warheads attributed to each deployed heavy bomber shall be equal to the number of nuclear weapons for which any heavy bomber of the same type or variant of a type is actually equipped, with the exception of heavy bombers reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks [pereorientirovannyye dlya vypolneniya neyadernykh zadach] as provided for in Paragraph 7 of this article. Each nuclear weapon for which a heavy bomber is actually equipped shall count as one warhead toward the limitations provided for in Article I of this treaty. For the purpose of such counting, nuclear weapons include long-range nuclear air-launched cruise missiles (ALCMs), nuclear air-to-surface missiles with a range of less than 600 kilometers, and nuclear bombs.

2. For the purposes of this treaty, the number of nuclear weapons for which a heavy bomber is actually equipped shall be the number specified for heavy bombers of that type and variant of a type in the memorandum of understanding on warhead attribution and heavy bomber data relating to the treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, hereinafter referred to as the Memorandum on Attribution.

3. Each party undertakes not to equip any heavy bomber with a greater number of nuclear weapons than the number specified for heavy bombers of that type or variant of a type in the Memorandum on Attribution.

4. No later than 180 days after entry into force of this treaty, each party shall exhibit one heavy bomber of each type and variant of a type specified in the Memorandum on Attribution. The purpose of the exhibition shall be to demonstrate to the other party the number of nuclear weapons for which a heavy bomber of a given type or variant of a type is actually equipped.

5. If either party intends to change the number of nuclear weapons specified in the Memorandum on Attribution, for which a heavy bomber of a type or variant of a type is actually equipped, it shall provide a 90-day advance notification of such intention to the other party. Ninety days after providing such a notification, or at a later date agreed by the parties, the party changing the number of nuclear weapons for which a heavy bomber is actually equipped shall exhibit one heavy bomber of each such type or variant of a type. The purpose of the exhibition shall be to demonstrate to the other party the revised number of nuclear weapons for which heavy bombers of the specified type or variant of a type are actually equipped. The number of nuclear weapons attributed to the specified type and variant of a type of heavy bomber shall change on the ninetieth day after the notification of such intent. On that day, the party changing the number of nuclear weapons for which a heavy bomber is actually equipped shall provide to the other party a notification of each change in data according to categories of data contained in the Memorandum on Attribution.

6. The exhibitions and inspections conducted pursuant to Paragraphs 4 and 5 of this article shall be carried out in accordance with the procedures provided for in the protocol on exhibitions and inspections of heavy bombers relating to the treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, hereinafter referred to as the Protocol on Exhibitions and Inspections.

7. Each party shall have the right to reassign heavy bombers equipped for nuclear armaments other than long-range nuclear ALCMS to fulfill non-nuclear tasks. For the purposes of this treaty, heavy bombers reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks are those heavy bombers specified by a party from among its heavy bombers equipped for nuclear armaments other than long-range nuclear ALCMS that have never been accountable under the START treaty as heavy bombers equipped for long-range nuclear ALCMS. The party that carries out the reassignment shall provide to the other party a notification of its intent to reassign a heavy bomber to fulfill non-nuclear tasks no less than 90 days in advance of such reassignment. No conversion procedures shall be required for such a heavy bomber to be specified as a heavy bomber reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks.

8. Heavy bombers reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks shall be subject to the following requirements:

(a) the number of such heavy bombers shall not exceed 100 at any one time;

(b) such heavy bombers shall be based separately from heavy bombers with nuclear roles;

(c) such heavy bombers shall be used only for non-nuclear missions. Such heavy bombers shall not be used in exercises for nuclear missions, and their aircrews shall not train or exercise for such missions; and

(d) heavy bombers re-assigned to fulfil non-nuclear tasks shall have differences from other heavy bombers of that type or variant of a type that are observable by national technical means of verification and visible during inspections.

9. Each party shall have the right to reassign to fulfill nuclear tasks again heavy bombers that were reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks in accordance with Paragraph 7 of this article. The party carrying out such action shall provide to the other party through diplomatic channels notification of its intent to reassign a heavy bomber to fulfill nuclear tasks again no less than 90 days in advance of taking such action.

Such a heavy bomber reassigned to fulfill nuclear tasks again shall not subsequently be reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks. Heavy bombers reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks which are subsequently reassigned again to fulfill nuclear tasks shall have differences observable by national technical means of verification and visible during inspection from other heavy bombers of that type and variant of a type that have not been reassigned to fulfill non- nuclear tasks, as well as from heavy bombers of that type and variant of a type that are still reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks.

10. Each party shall locate storage areas for heavy bomber nuclear armaments no less than 100 kilometers from any air base where heavy bombers reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks are based.

11. Except as otherwise provided for in this treaty, heavy bombers reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks shall remain subject to the provisions of the START treaty, including the inspection provisions.

12. If not all heavy bombers of a given type or variant of a type are reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks, one heavy bomber of each type or variant of a type of heavy bomber reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks shall be exhibited in the open for the purpose of demonstrating to the other party the differences referred to in subparagraph 8(d) of this article. Such differences shall be subject to inspection by the other party.

13. If not all heavy bombers of a given type or variant of a type reassigned to fulfill non-nuclear tasks are reassigned to fulfill nuclear tasks again, one heavy bomber of each type and variant of a type of heavy bomber returned to a nuclear role shall be exhibited in the open for the

purpose of demonstrating to the other party the differences referred to in Paragraph 9 of this article. Such differences shall be subject to inspection by the other party.

14. The exhibitions and inspections provided for in Paragraphs 12 and 13 of this article shall be carried out in accordance with the procedures provided for in the protocol on exhibitions and inspections.

Article V

1. Except as provided for in this treaty, the provisions of the START Treaty, including the verification provisions, shall be used for implementation of this treaty.

2. To promote the implementation of the objectives and provisions of this treaty, the parties hereby establish the Bilateral Implementation Commission. The parties agree that, if either party so requests, they shall meet within the framework of the Bilateral Implementation Commission to:

(a) resolve questions relating to compliance with the obligations assumed; and

(b) agree upon such additional measures as may be necessary to improve the viability and effectiveness of this treaty.

Article VI

1. This treaty, including its Memorandum on Attribution, Elimination and Conversion Protocol, and Protocol on Exhibitions and Inspections, all of which are integral parts thereof, shall be subject to ratification in accordance with the constitutional procedures of each party. This treaty shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of instruments of ratification, but not prior to the entry into force of the START Treaty.

2. The provisions of Paragraph 8 of Article II of this treaty shall be applied provisionally by the parties from the date of its signature.

3. This treaty shall remain in force so long as the START Treaty remains in force.

4. Each party shall, in exercising its state sovereignty, have the right to withdraw from this treaty if it decides that extraordinary events related to the subject matter of this treaty have jeopardized its supreme interests. It shall give notice of its decision to the other party six months prior to withdrawal from this treaty. Such notice shall include a statement of the extraordinary events the notifying party regards as having jeopardized its supreme interests.

Article VII

Each party may propose amendments to this treaty. Agreed amendments shall enter into force in accordance with the procedures governing entry into force of this treaty.

Article VIII

This treaty shall be registered pursuant to Article 102 of the charter of the United Nations.

Completed in Moscow on January 3, 1993, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic."

'Text' of Protocol on Eliminating ICBM's

LD0301165893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1620 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Follows full text of a protocol to the START II Treaty on procedures governing elimination of heavy ICBMs [intercontinental ballistic missiles] and on procedures governing conversion of silo launchers of heavy ICBMs relating to the Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms.

"Pursuant to and in implementation of the treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, hereinafter referred to as the treaty, the parties hereby agree upon procedures governing the elimination of heavy ICBMs and upon procedures governing the conversion of silo launchers of such ICBMs.

I. Procedures for elimination of heavy ICBMs and their launch canisters

1. Elimination of heavy ICBMs shall be carried out in accordance with the procedures provided for in this section at elimination facilities for ICBMs specified in the START Treaty or shall be carried out by using such missiles for delivering objects into the upper atmosphere or space. Notification thereof shall be provided through the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers (NRRCs) 30 days in advance of the initiation of elimination at conversion or elimination facilities, or, in the event of launch, in accordance with the provisions of the agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on notifications of launches of intercontinental ballistic missiles and submarine-launched ballistic missiles of May 31, 1988.

2. Prior to the confirmatory inspection pursuant to Paragraph 3 of this section, the inspected party:

(a) shall remove the missile's re-entry vehicles;

(b) may remove the electronic and electromechanical devices of the missile's guidance and control system from the missile and its launch canister, and other elements that shall not be subject to elimination pursuant to Paragraph 4 of this section;

(c) shall remove the missile from its launch canister and disassemble the missile into stages;

(d) shall remove liquid propellant from the missile;

(e) may remove or actuate auxiliary pyrotechnic devices installed on the missile and its launch canister;

(f) may remove penetration aids, including devices for their attachment and release; and

(g) may remove propulsion units from the self-contained dispensing mechanism.

These actions may be carried out in any order.

3. After arrival of the inspection team and prior to the initiation of the elimination process, inspectors shall confirm the type and number of the missiles to be eliminated by making the observations and measurements necessary for such confirmation. After the procedures provided for in this paragraph have been carried out, the process of the elimination of the missiles and their launch canisters may begin. Inspectors shall observe the elimination process.

4. Elimination process for heavy ICBMs:

(a) missile stages, nozzles, and missile interstage skirts shall each be cut into two pieces of approximately equal size; and

(b) the self-contained dispensing mechanism as well as the front section, including the re-entry vehicle platform and the front section shroud, shall be cut into two pieces of approximately equal size and crushed.

5. During the elimination process for launch canisters of heavy ICBMs, the launch canister shall be cut into two pieces of approximately equal size or into three pieces in such a manner that pieces no less than 1.5 meters long are cut from the ends of the body of such a launch canister.

6. Upon completion of the above requirements, the inspection team leader and a member of the in-country escort shall confirm in a factual, written report containing the results of the inspection team's observation of the elimination process that the inspection team has completed its inspection.

7. Heavy ICBMs shall cease to be subject to the limitations provided for in the treaty after completion of the procedures provided for in this section. Notification thereof shall be provided in accordance with Paragraph 3 of Section I of the notification protocol relating to the START Treaty.

Procedures for conversion of silo launchers of heavy ICBMs, silo training launchers for heavy ICBMS, and silo test launchers for heavy ICBMs

1. Conversion of silo launchers of heavy ICBMs, silo training launchers for heavy ICBMs, and silo test launchers for heavy ICBMs shall be carried out in situ and shall be subject to inspection.

2. Prior to the initiation of the conversion process for such launchers, the missile and launch canister shall be removed from the silo launcher.

3. A party shall be considered to have initiated the conversion process for silo launchers of heavy ICBMs, silo training launchers for heavy ICBMs, and silo test launchers for heavy ICBMs as soon as the silo launcher door has been opened and a missile and its launch canister have been removed from the silo launcher. Notification thereof shall be provided in accordance with Paragraphs 1 and 2 of Section IV of the notification protocol relating to the START Treaty.

4. Conversion process for silo launchers of heavy ICBMs, silo training launchers for heavy ICBMs, and silo test launchers for heavy ICBMs shall include the following steps:

(a) the silo launcher door shall be opened, the missile and the launch canister shall be removed from the silo launcher;

(b) concrete shall be poured into the base of the silo launcher up to the height of five meters from the bottom of the silo launcher; and

(c) a restrictive ring with a diameter of no more than 2.9 meters shall be installed into the upper portion of the silo launcher. The method of installation of the restrictive ring shall rule out its removal without destruction of the ring and its attachment to the silo launcher.

5. Each party shall have the right to confirm that the procedures provided for in Paragraph 4 of this section have been carried out. For the purpose of confirming that these procedures have been carried out:

(a) the converting party shall notify the other party through the NRRCs: [not further identified]

(i) no less than 30 days in advance of the date when the process of pouring concrete will commence; and

(ii) upon completion of all of the procedures provided for in Paragraph 4 of this section; and

(b) the inspecting party shall have the right to implement the procedures provided for in either Paragraph 6 or Paragraph 7, but not both, of this section for each silo launcher of heavy ICBMs, silo training launcher for heavy ICBMS, and silo test launcher for heavy ICBMs that is to be converted.

6. Subject to the provisions of Paragraph 5 of this section, each party shall have the right to observe the entire process of pouring concrete into each silo launcher of heavy ICBMs, silo training launcher for heavy ICBMs, and silo test launcher for heavy ICBMs that is to be converted, and to measure the diameter of the restrictive ring. For this purpose:

(a) the inspecting party shall inform the party converting the silo launcher no less than seven days in advance of the commencement of the pouring that it will observe the filling of the silo in question;

(b) immediately prior to the commencement of the process of pouring concrete, the converting party shall take such steps as are necessary to ensure that the base of the silo launcher is visible, and that the depth of the silo can be measured;

(c) the inspecting party shall have the right to observe the entire process of pouring concrete from a location providing an unobstructed view of the base of the silo launcher, and to confirm by measurement that concrete has been poured into the base of the silo launcher up to the height of five meters from the bottom of the silo launcher. The measurements shall be taken from the level of the lower edge of the closed silo launcher door to the base of the silo launcher, prior to the pouring of the concrete, and from the level of the lower edge of the closed silo launcher door to the top of the concrete fill, after the concrete has hardened;

(d) following notification of completion of the procedures provided for in Paragraph 4 of this section, the inspecting party shall be permitted to measure the diameter of the restrictive ring. The restrictive ring shall not be shrouded during such inspection. The parties shall agree on the date for such inspections;

(e) the results of measurements conducted pursuant to Subparagraphs (c) and (d) of this paragraph shall be recorded in written, factual inspection reports and signed by the inspection team leader and a member of the in-country escort;

(f) inspection teams shall each consist of no more than 10 inspectors, all of whom shall be drawn from the list of inspectors under the START Treaty; and

(g) such inspections shall not count against any inspection quota established by the START Treaty.

7. Subject to the provisions of Paragraph 5 of this section, each party shall have the right to measure the depth of each silo launcher of heavy ICBMs, silo training launcher for heavy ICBMs, and silo test launcher for heavy ICBMs that is to be converted both before the commencement and after the completion of the process of pouring concrete, and to measure the diameter of the restrictive ring. For this purpose:

(a) the inspecting party shall inform the party converting the silo launcher no less than seven days in advance of the commencement of the pouring that it will measure the depth of the silo launcher in question both before the commencement and after the completion of the process of pouring concrete;

(b) immediately prior to the commencement of the process of pouring concrete, the converting party shall take such steps as are necessary to ensure that the base of the silo launcher is visible, and that the depth of the silo launcher can be measured;

(c) the inspecting party shall measure the depth of the silo launcher prior to the commencement of the process of pouring concrete;

(d) following notification of completion of the procedures provided for in Paragraph 4 of this section, the inspecting party shall be permitted to measure the diameter of the restrictive ring, and to remeasure the depth of the silo launcher. The restrictive ring shall not be shrouded during such inspections. The parties shall agree on the date for such inspections;

(e) for the purpose of measuring the depth of the concrete in the silo launcher, measurements shall be taken from the level of the lower edge of the closed silo launcher door to the base of the silo launcher, prior to the pouring of the concrete. And from the level of the lower edge of the closed silo launcher door to the top of the concrete fill, after the concrete has hardened;

(f) the results of measurements conducted pursuant to subparagraphs (c), (d), and (e) of this paragraph shall be recorded in written, factual inspection reports and signed by the inspection team leader and a member of the in-country escort;

(g) inspection teams shall each consist of no more than 10 inspectors, all of whom shall be drawn from the list of inspectors under the START Treaty; and

(h) such inspections shall not count against any inspection quota established by the START Treaty.

8. The converting party shall have the right to carry out further conversion measures after the completion of the procedures provided for in Paragraph 6 or Paragraph 7 of this section or, if such procedures are not conducted, upon expiration of 30 days after notification of completion of the procedures provided for in Paragraph 4 of this section.

9. In addition to the reentry vehicle inspections conducted under the START Treaty, each party shall have the right to conduct, using the procedures provided for in Annex 3 to the inspection protocol relating to the START Treaty, four additional reentry vehicle inspections each year of ICBMS that are deployed in silo launchers of heavy ICBMS that have been converted in accordance with the provisions of this section. During such inspections, the inspectors also shall have the right to confirm by visual observation the presence of the restrictive ring and that the observable portions of the launch canister do not differ externally from the observable portions of the launch canister that was exhibited pursuant to Paragraph 11 of Article XI of the START Treaty. Any shrouding of the upper portion of the silo launcher shall not obstruct visual observation of the upper portion of the launch canister and shall not obstruct visual observation of the edge of the restrictive ring. If requested by the inspecting party, the converting party shall partially remove any shrouding, except for shrouding of instruments installed on the restrictive ring, to permit confirmation of the presence of the restrictive ring.

10. Upon completion of the procedures provided for in Paragraph 6 or Paragraph 7 of this section or, if such

procedures are not conducted, upon expiration of 30 days after notification of completion of the procedures provided for in Paragraph 4 of this section, the silo launcher of heavy ICBMs being converted shall, for the purposes of the Treaty, be considered to contain a deployed ICBM to which one warhead is attributed.

III. Equipment; Costs

1. To carry out inspections provided for in this protocol, the inspecting party shall have the right to use agreed equipment, including equipment that will confirm that the silo launcher has been completely filled up to the height of five meters from the bottom of the silo launcher with concrete. The parties shall agree in the bilateral implementation commission on such equipment.

2. For inspections conducted pursuant to this protocol, costs shall be handled pursuant to Paragraph 19 of Section V of the inspection protocol relating to the START Treaty.

This protocol is an integral part of the Treaty and shall enter into force on the date of entry into force of the Treaty and shall remain in force as long as the Treaty remains in force. As provided for in Subparagraph 2(b) of Article V of the Treaty, the parties may agree upon such additional measures as may be necessary to improve the viability and effectiveness of the Treaty. The parties agree that, if it becomes necessary to make changes in this protocol that do not affect substantive rights or obligations under the Treaty, they shall use the Bilateral Implementation Commission to reach agreement on such changes, without resorting to the procedure for making amendments set forth in Article VII of the Treaty.

Done at Moscow on January 3, 1993, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic."

'Text' of Memo on Warhead Attribution

LD0301185993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1753 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Follows the text of the memorandum of understanding on warhead attribution and heavy bomber data relating to the Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms:

"Pursuant to and in implementation of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, hereinafter referred to as the Treaty, the parties have exchanged data current as of January 3, 1993, on the number of nuclear weapons for which each heavy bomber of a type and a variant of a type equipped for nuclear weapons is actually equipped. No later than 30 days after the date of entry into force of the Treaty, the parties shall additionally exchange data, current as of the date of entry into force of the Treaty, according to the categories of data contained in this memorandum, on heavy bombers equipped for nuclear weapons; on heavy bombers specified as reoriented to a conventional role, and on heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role that are subsequently returned to a nuclear role; on ICBMs and SLBMs to which a reduced number of warheads is attributed; and on data on the elimination of heavy ICBMs and on conversion of silo launchers of heavy ICBMs.

Only those data used for purposes of implementing the Treaty that differ from the data in the memorandum of understanding on the establishment of the data base relating to the START Treaty are included in this memorandum.

I. Number of warheads attributed to deployed heavy bombers other than heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role

1. Pursuant to Paragraph 3 of Article IV of the Treaty each party undertakes not to have more nuclear weapons deployed on heavy bombers of any type or variant of a type than the number specified in this paragraph. Additionally, pursuant to Paragraph 2 of Article IV of the Treaty, for each party the numbers of warheads attributed to deployed heavy bombers not reoriented to a conventional role as of the date of signature of the Treaty or to heavy bombers subsequently deployed are listed below. Such numbers shall only be changed in accordance with Paragraph 5 of Article IV of the Treaty. The party making a change shall provide a notification to the other party 90 days prior to making such a change. An exhibition shall be conducted to demonstrate the changed number of nuclear weapons for which heavy bombers of the listed type or variant of a type are actually equipped:

(a) United States of America	
Heavy Bomber Type and Variant of a Type	Number of Warheads
B-52G	12
B-52H	20
B-1B	16
B-2	16
(b) Russian Federation	
Heavy Bomber Type and Variant of a Type	Number of Warheads
Bear B	1
Bear G	2
Bear H6	6
Bear H16	16
Blackjack	12

Aggregate number of warheads attributed to deployed heavy bombers, except for heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role

II. Data on heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role and heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role that have subsequently been returned to a nuclear role

1. For each party, the numbers of heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role are as follows:

*Heavy bombers of the type and variant of a type designated B- 52C, B-52D, B-52E, and B-52F, located at the Davis-Monthan Conversion or Elimination Facility as of September 1, 1990, as specified in the memorandum of understanding to the START Treaty, will be eliminated, Under the provisions of the START Treaty, before the expiration of the seven-year reductions period.

(a) United States of America	
Heavy bomber type and variant of a type	Number
———	———
———	———
(b) Russian Federation	
Heavy bomber type and variant of a type	Number
———	———
———	———

2. For each party, the numbers of heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role as well as data on related air bases are as follows:

(a) United States of America	
Air Bases:	
Name/Location	Bomber type and variant of a type
———	———
Heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role	Number
	———
(b) Russian Federation	
Air Bases:	
Name/Location	Bomber type and variant of a type
———	———
Heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role	Number
	———

3. For each party, the differences observable by national technical means of verification for heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role are as follows:

(a) United States of America	
Heavy bomber type and variant of a type	Difference
———	———
(b) Russian Federation	
Heavy bomber type and variant of type	Difference
———	———

4. For each party, the differences observable by national technical means of verification for heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role that have subsequently been returned to a nuclear role are as follows:

(a) United States of America	
Heavy bomber type and variant of a type	Difference
———	———
(b) Russian Federation	
Heavy bomber type and variant of a type	Difference
———	———

III. Data on deployed ICBMs and deployed SLBMs to which a reduced number of warheads is attributed

For each party, the data on ICBM bases or submarine bases, and on ICBMs or SLBMs of existing types deployed at those bases, on which the number of warheads attributed to them is reduced pursuant to Article III of the Treaty are as follows:

(a) [as received] United States of America	
	Type of ICBM or SLBM
	———
Deployed ICBMs or deployed SLBMs, on which the number of warheads is reduced	———
Warheads attributed to each deployed ICBM or deployed SLBM after reduction in the number of warheads on it	———
Number of warheads by which the original attribution of warheads for each ICBM or SLBM was reduced	———
Aggregate reduction in the number of warheads attributed to deployed ICBMS or deployed SLBMS of that type	———

ICBM bases at which the number of warheads on deployed ICBMS is reduced:

Name/Location	ICBM type on which the number of warheads is reduced
Deployed ICBMs on which the number of warheads is reduced	———
Warheads attributed to each deployed ICBM after reduction in the number of warheads on it	———

Number of warheads by which the original attribution of warheads for each ICBM was reduced	——
Aggregate reduction in the number of warheads attributed to deployed ICBMS of that type	——

SLBM bases at which the number of warheads on deployed SLBMs is reduced:

Name/Location	SLBM type on which the number of warheads is reduced
Deployed SLBMS on which the number of warheads is reduced	——
Warheads attributed to each deployed SLBM after reduction in the number of warheads on it	——
Number of warheads by which the original attribution of warheads for each SLBM was reduced	——
Aggregate reduction in the number of warheads attributed to deployed SLBMs of that type	——
(b) Russian Federation	
Type of ICBM or SLBM	
Deployed ICBMs or deployed SLBMs on which the number of warheads is reduced	——
Warheads attributed to each deployed ICBM or deployed SLBM after reduction in the number of warheads on it	——
Number of warheads by which the original attribution of warheads for each ICBM or SLBM was reduced	——
Aggregate reduction in the number of warheads attributed to deployed ICBMS or deployed SLBMS of that type	——

ICBM bases at which the number of warheads on deployed ICBMs is reduced:

Name/Location	ICBM type on which the number of warheads is reduced
Deployed ICBMS on which the number of warheads is reduced	——
Warheads attributed to each deployed ICBM after reduction in the number of warheads on it	——
Number of warheads by which the original attribution of warheads for each ICBM was reduced	——
Aggregate reduction in the number of warheads attributed to deployed ICBMS of that type	——

SLBM bases at which the number of warheads on deployed SLBMs is reduced:

Name/Location	SLBM type on which the number of warheads is reduced
Deployed SLBMS on which the number of warheads is reduced	——
Warheads attributed to each deployed SLBM after reduction in the number of warheads on it	——
Number of warheads by which the original attribution of warheads for each SLBM was reduced	——
Aggregate reduction in the number of warheads attributed to deployed SLBMS of that type	——

IV. Data on eliminated heavy ICBMS and converted silo launchers of heavy ICBMs

1. For each party, the numbers of silo launchers of heavy ICBMs converted to silo launchers of ICBMs other than heavy ICBMs are as follows:

(a) United States of America	
Aggregate number of converted silo launchers	
ICBM base for silo launchers of ICBMs:	ICBM type installed in a converted Silo launcher
Name/Location	
Silo launcher group: (designation)	
Silo launchers:	
(b) Russian Federation	
Aggregate number of converted silo launchers	
ICBM base for silo launchers of ICBMs:	ICBM type installed in a converted silo launcher
Name/Location	
Silo launcher group: (designation)	
silo launchers:	

2. For each party, the aggregate numbers of heavy ICBMs and eliminated heavy ICBMs are as follows:

(a) United States of America	Number
Deployed heavy ICBMs	
Non-deployed heavy ICBMs	
Eliminated heavy ICBMs	
(b) Russian Federation	Number
Deployed heavy ICBMs	
Non-deployed heavy ICBMs	
Eliminated heavy ICBMs	

V. Changes

Each party shall notify the other party of changes in the attribution and data contained in this memorandum.

The parties, in signing this memorandum, acknowledge the acceptance of the categories of data contained in this memorandum and the responsibility of each party for the accuracy only of its own data.

This memorandum is an integral part of the Treaty and shall enter into force on the date of entry into force of the Treaty and shall remain in force so long as the Treaty remains in force. As provided for in Subparagraph 2(b) of Article V of the Treaty, the parties may agree upon such additional measures as may be necessary to improve the viability and effectiveness of the Treaty. The parties agree that, if it becomes necessary to change the categories of data contained in this memorandum or to make other changes to this memorandum that do not affect substantive rights or obligations under the Treaty, they shall use the bilateral implementation commission to reach agreement on such changes, without resorting to the procedure for making amendments set forth in Article VII of the Treaty.

Done in Moscow on January 3, 1993, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic."

For the United States For the Russian

of America: Federation:

'Text' of Inspection Protocol on Bombers

LD0301183393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1742 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Follows full text of a protocol to the START-2 treaty on exhibitions and inspections of heavy bombers relating to the Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation of further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms:

"Pursuant to and in implementation of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive arms, hereinafter referred to as the Treaty, the parties hereby agree to conduct exhibitions and inspections of heavy bombers pursuant to Paragraphs 4, 5, 12, and 13 of Article IV of the Treaty.

I. Exhibitions of heavy bombers

1. For the purpose of helping to ensure verification of compliance with the provisions of the Treaty, and as required by Paragraphs 4, 5, 12, and 13 of Article IV of the Treaty, each party shall conduct exhibitions of heavy bombers equipped for nuclear armaments, heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role, and heavy bombers that were reoriented to a conventional role and subsequently returned to a nuclear role.

2. The exhibitions of heavy bombers shall be conducted subject to the following provisions:

(a) the location for such an exhibition shall be at the discretion of the exhibiting party;

(b) the date for such an exhibition shall be agreed upon between the parties through diplomatic channels, and the exhibiting party shall communicate the location of the exhibition;

(c) during such an exhibition, each heavy bomber exhibited shall be subject to inspection for a period not to exceed two hours;

(d) the inspection team conducting an inspection during an exhibition shall consist of no more than 10 inspectors, all of whom shall be drawn from the list of inspectors under the START Treaty;

(e) prior to the beginning of the exhibition, the inspected party shall provide a photograph or photographs of one of the heavy bombers of a type or variant of a type reoriented to a conventional role and of one of the heavy bombers of the same type and variant of a type that were reoriented to a conventional role and subsequently returned to a nuclear role, so as to show all of their differences that are observable by national technical means of verification and visible during inspection; and

(f) such inspections during exhibitions shall not count against any inspection quota established by the START Treaty.

II. Inspections of heavy bombers

1. During exhibitions of heavy bombers, each party shall have the right to perform the following procedures on the exhibited heavy bombers; and each party, beginning 180 days after entry into force of the Treaty and thereafter, shall have the right, in addition to its rights under the START Treaty, to perform, during data update and new facility inspections conducted under the START Treaty at air bases of the other party, the following procedures on all heavy bombers based at such air bases and present there at the time of the inspection:

(a) to conduct inspections of heavy bombers equipped for long-range nuclear ALCMs [Air Launched Cruise Missiles] and heavy bombers equipped for nuclear armaments other than long-range nuclear ALCMs, in order to confirm that the number of nuclear weapons for which a heavy bomber is actually equipped does not exceed the number specified in the memorandum on attribution. The inspection team shall have the right to visually inspect those portions of the exterior of the inspected heavy bomber where the inspected heavy bomber is equipped for weapons, as well as to visually inspect the weapons bay of such a heavy bomber, but not to inspect other portions of the exterior of interior;

(b) to conduct inspections of heavy bombers reoriented to a conventional role, in order to confirm the differences of such heavy bombers from other heavy bombers of that type or variant of a type that are observable by national technical means of verification and visible during inspection. The inspection team shall have the right to visually inspect those portions of the exterior of the inspected heavy bomber having the differences

observable by national technical means of verification and visible during inspection, but not to inspect other portions of the exterior or interior; and

(c) to conduct inspections of heavy bombers that were reoriented to a conventional role and subsequently returned to a nuclear role, in order to confirm the differences of such heavy bombers from other heavy bombers of that type or variant of a type that are observable by national technical means of verification and visible during inspection, and to confirm that the number of nuclear weapons for which a heavy bomber is actually equipped does not exceed the number specified in the memorandum on attribution. The inspection team shall have the right to visually inspect those portions of the exterior of the inspected heavy bomber where the inspected heavy bomber is equipped for weapons, as well as to visually inspect the weapons bay of such a heavy bomber, and to visually inspect those portions of the exterior of the inspected heavy bomber having the differences observable by national technical means of verification and visible to inspection, but not to inspect other portions of the exterior or interior.

2. At the discretion of the inspected party, those portions of the heavy bomber that are not subject to inspection may be shrouded. The period of time required to carry out the shrouding process shall not count against the period allocated for inspection.

3. In the course of an inspection conducted during an exhibition, a member of the in-country escort shall provide, during inspections conducted pursuant to Subparagraph 1(a) or Subparagraph 1(c) of this section, explanations to the inspection team concerning the number of nuclear weapons for which the heavy bomber is actually equipped, and shall provide, during inspections conducted pursuant to Subparagraph 1(b) or Subparagraph 1(c) of this section, explanations to the inspection team concerning the differences that are observable by national technical means of verification and visible during inspection. This protocol is an integral part of the Treaty and shall enter into force on the date of entry into force of the Treaty and shall remain in force so long as the Treaty remains in force. As provided for in Subparagraph 2(b) of Article V of the Treaty, the parties may agree upon such additional measures as may be necessary to improve the viability and effectiveness of the Treaty. The parties agree that, if it becomes necessary to make changes in this protocol that do not affect substantive rights or obligations under the Treaty, they shall use the Bilateral Implementation Commission to reach agreement on such changes, without resorting to the procedure for making amendments set forth in Article VII of the Treaty.

Done at Moscow on January 3, 1993, in two copies, each in the English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic."

Yeltsin's Statement at START II Signing

LD0301105393 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0906 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Opening statement by President Boris Yeltsin at a news conference with U.S. President George Bush following the signing of the START II Treaty in the Kremlin—live]

[Text] Esteemed President George Bush, Esteemed Mrs. Bush, esteemed delegation members, esteemed journalists, ladies and gentlemen:

Not every century gives us the chance to witness and participate in an event so significant in scale and consequence. The Presidents of the two great powers—the United States and Russia—today signed the START II Treaty on further radical reductions in the strategic and offensive arms of Russia and the United States. It surpasses all other disarmament treaties in scale and importance. Today's treaty is the fruit of efforts of Russian and U.S. diplomats. It is also an achievement for all mankind and benefits all the people of the world. The START II Treaty becomes the core of the system of global security guarantees.

This treaty's scale is measured through a range of factors. It is historic due to the fact that mankind throughout history armed itself and merely dreamed of beating swords into plowshares. The Treaty signed today is a major step toward realizing mankind's centuries-old historic dream of disarmament. The political significance lies in the fact that the treaty signed today is a treaty of a new era. It is a treaty between two friendly states, between partners who not only trust each other but also help each other. It bears witness to our purposeful joint movement toward a new world order.

The new, democratic Russian state has been pursuing a policy of building equal partnership with the United States from the very outset. Today, it can be rightfully said that a genuine revolution has taken place in the relations between the two powers.

The political factor is that the START II Treaty will, during the final decade of the 20th Century and at the start of the 21st Century, affect not only the policies of the United States and Russia but also those of other countries. The START II Treaty has set the parameters for possible political accords in other spheres of interaction between states.

The military factor is determined by the scale of mutual reductions in nuclear weapons. Each state will reduce and destroy the number of warheads on its strategic offensive weapons by approximately two-thirds of the level which they could have had in compliance with the START I Treaty.

The deepest cuts will affect the categories of arms which are of great concern to the parties and the world. For the United States, these are submarine-launched ballistic

missiles and heavy bombers. For Russia, these are land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles or ICBMs. This reduces drastically the level of danger, military mistrust, and suspicion.

We open real prospects for cooperation based on trust between people in military uniform, between people with military discipline and military thinking. Thus, the START II Treaty will change and gradually replace the very psychology of confrontation.

As the president and the supreme commander in chief, I can state quite unequivocally: The treaty that has been signed does not weaken but strengthens Russian security. I think that President Bush can make a similar statement regarding U.S. security.

Implementation of the new treaty will not destroy Russia economically. The most thorough calculations have been made. They demonstrate that the planned reductions will be considerably cheaper than just keeping these nuclear systems in a safe state.

We are seriously saving on verification [kontrol] and inspections, some of the most expensive—as they say, costly—items of expenditure. The new nature of relations between Russia and the United States enables us to simplify the verification procedures substantially, ensuring at the same time their reliability.

We are expecting to reduce—and what is more, considerably reduce—expenditure on the physical destruction of armaments. There is an accord with the United States on cooperation in developing and applying appropriate technologies. Thus, the expenditure under this item will, in fact, be shared equally.

This will enable us to destroy our nuclear weapons not lagging several years behind, but parallel with the United States of America, in accordance with the timescale prescribed by the treaty. Given the present economic crisis, it would have been difficult for us to keep to this timescale without assistance from outside. The U.S. Congress has already adopted a resolution to support Russia in this regard, in destroying nuclear warheads.

The moral factor will manifest itself in the fact that this treaty gives hope to all mankind of the possibility of achieving a nuclear-free world on Earth. The moral, the high moral meaning of this treaty consists of the fact that we will be able to hand over to our children, the children of the 21st century, a more secure world. I would call this treaty a treaty of hope.

As for the purely diplomatic aspect of the START II Treaty that has just been signed, it will undoubtedly go down in the history of diplomacy as an example of using the potential of partners striving to overcome the heritage of hostility and confrontation.

You may recall it took 15 years to prepare the first START Treaty. It only took several months to prepare the START II Treaty, a treaty of a considerably greater magnitude. However, there was no rush of any kind during the preparations. Obviously, this reflects above all the level of confidence and mutual understanding achieved between the United States of America and Russia and between the presidents of the two countries. This is a great stimulus for world diplomacy as well. Today I would like to express the hope that the diplomatic services of the United States of America and Russia, and diplomats from the countries of Europe will double and treble their efforts to settle those conflicts which are of concern today to the whole world.

I would also like to draw attention to another important aspect: the personal position of our guest, who is here on a working visit, President George Bush. I want to pay tribute to my colleague and friend, George—his great human and political qualities and his competence have contributed to the successful accomplishment of the transition from the Cold War to a new world order. I am grateful to him for all he has done to establish new relations between Russia and the United States of Amercia, for solidarity and support during the putsch, for the freedom support act, for the START II Treaty. Thank you, George.

I think it is of fundamental importance that Mr. Clinton, the future President of the United States, fully supports the signing of the START II Treaty. We can without delay proceed to the direct implementation of this document, and also consider further steps to strengthen global stability, the global protection system, and international security.

President Bush and I have maintained regular contacts with President-elect Clinton. Today's signing ceremony would not have taken place had there been the slightest reason to doubt his solidarity with our endeavors.

I would like to personally thank those people who took the most active part in the process of preparing the START II Treaty, above all, of course, the President, who personally has been constantly taking part in the elaboration, preparation, and polishing of the text of the draft treaty. And I would say that it was a rare week that we did not speak on the telephone with each other.

I would like to thank Mr. Scowcroft, who also has been constantly taking personal participation in the consideration of this problem.

I would like to thank James Baker, who really did treat these problems globally, and he helped in this breakthrough in so many ways.

I am grateful to Mr. Eagleburger, who especially at the finishing line so boldly and at the same time flexibly, together with our delegation in Geneva, placed a period, practically initialled, on the draft treaty.

I am grateful to all those experts, to the analysts and the consultants who took part in this preparation.

I am also grateful to our leaders, to Kozyrev and Grachev, and also to those 48 specialists and experts who

worked long and very hard to arrive at this day, to arrive at signing the START II Treaty, which is unique to the whole world.

I am grateful to all journalists who have been constantly keeping a hand on the pulse of this problem and who did not manage to criticize this treaty before it was signed.

I believe that there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of friendly partnership between Russia and the United States. Strategic partnership relations serve the fundamental interests of both countries and of the international community as a whole. I am absolutely convinced that the signing of the START II Treaty opens new promising prospects for the peoples of our two countries. I am certain that this day will be an important milestone in this process. Thank you for your attention.

Bush, Yeltsin Hold News Conference

LD0301123393 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0942 GMT 3 Jan 92

[Question and answer session at news conference following the START II Treaty signing in the Kremlin, Moscow, held by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. President George Bush, moderated by Yuriy Kostikov and Marlin Fitzwater; correspondents are identified where possible; Fitzwater and Bush speak in English, followed by passage by passage translation into Russian—live]

[Text] [Kostikov] Now over to the question and answer session. The American side will begin. Mr. Fitzwater, over to you. The choice is yours.

[Fitzwater] Charles Bierbauer, CNN.

[Bierbauer] [Words indistinct] on to other areas of concern as a result of having achieved this kind of a treaty. Could you give us in some detail what your discussions were with regard to the situation in Bosnia, what you see achievable there, and what differences separate you?

[Bush] We discussed that question in some detail. Our prime common objective is to see the suffering stop and see the fighting stop. I can't go into it. I certainly would not want to quantify what differences we may have, but I came away with the feeling that we were very close together, these two countries, and wanting to see peace restored to that area.

[Yeltsin] I would like to pick it up there because this question was put to both presidents. We discussed a very wide range of topics and problems. I would say that we tied up the loose ends of the undertaking which we began with our accords during this period which is coming to an end; President Bush's period was an interesting one, with events of worldwide significance. We discussed Russian reforms and the new government and how it will carry on, whether it will move further along the path of reforms. I assured the President that this goes without saying. The government is hardly new and is practically the same in composition. The government chairman also aims at reform and will carry it out along the same path.

We discussed bilateral relations; the former Union's foreign debt; credits; grain crop deliveries; and international conflicts, including the Yugoslav issue. We are close in our stands on the latter topic. We supported the U.S. stand on adopting the UN Security Council resolution.

We will carry on pursuing a similar policy line. We would like to try, more actively than we have ever done before, to pursue a policy aimed at establishing a truce in Serbia and Yugoslavia as a whole. We discussed military matters, including in some detail the implications of START II, whether it is harmful to either of the sides. We concluded that this treaty does not harm either side, it does not harm any third party either; it is only to the advantage of everyone. In other words, negotiations were held in a very businesslike, constructive, calm and respectful atmosphere, as they always have been.

[Kostikov] A question from Vladimir Markov, RIA Novosti.

[Markov] Boris Nikolayevich, despite the enormous importance of the treaty you have signed today, its ratification lies ahead. And if before difficulties in the main arose in the U.S. Congress, then today it is evident that difficulties are not out of the question from at least certain, or a number of Russian deputies. Anyway, how do you assess the prospects for the ratification of the START II Treaty in our Russian parliament?

[Yeltsin] Yes, there is no point in hiding it. Some deputies are against the treaty and, in general, against anything positive that should happen in Russia. Negating everything in full is their position. It can also be said that they, for example, support Iraq and its aggression. One can see what these Supreme Soviet deputies are like. Fortunately, however, they are not a majority. The majority of Supreme Soviet members believe in reason and in common sense and in the great importance of this treaty. Moreover, some deputies went to Geneva and took part in the talks. The committee chairman was permanently with us, so I think there will be some difficulties at the sitting to discuss and ratify the START II Treaty. Nevertheless, I am confident that it will be ratified by the Supreme Soviet.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. President, how confident are you that the treaty you are now going to be turning over to a new administration will be ratified by the Senate and, Mr. Yeltsin, I would like to know your thoughts on how awkward is it for you to find yourself suddenly having a deal with a new president in Washington?

[Bush] Clearly I am not in a position to commit President-elect Clinton, but I can confidently predict that this treaty will be quickly ratified by the Congress and, butting in on the second part of your question, I've talked to President-elect Clinton enough to know that he

is most interested in keeping this U.S.-Russia relationship on the high plain at which it stands right now, and I've told President Yeltsin that I think he will enjoy working with Governor Clinton, and that I know that Governor Clinton is committed to the general theory of these arms reductions that START II takes on.

[Yeltsin] I met Mr. Clinton during my official state visit to the United States when he was a presidential candidate. During the conversation, which, I think, was rather interesting and normal, he expressed his very good position of support for Russia and its reforms, its movement along the democratic path.

I sent Mr. Clinton a letter two days ago in which I set out the position on the START II Treaty and proposed that under no circumstances should there be any hiatus in our relations with the new administration, because any hiatus of several months in contacts between superpowers would give great cause for concern. Hardly a week goes by without George Bush and myself speaking on the phone. I suggested that right after 20 January we should meet somewhere on neutral ground for a working meeting to consider all the different problems that exist, both internationally and in our bilateral relations. I hope that the new President will take over the baton that was given to him by President George Bush at a very high level as regards relations with Russia.

[Grishenko] Boris Grishenko. INTERFAX, Grishenko. This is a question for the Russian president. Boris Nikolayevich, I would like to ask you to expand just a little on that part of your speech in which you said that the signing of this treaty would not lead to a violation of the military-strategic balance between Russia and the United States of America, as our conservative circles, in particular, claim. This is their point of view. And I would like you to confirm that Russia's nuclear shield will not be weakened by this treaty. I put this question to you not only as president, but as supreme commander in chief. Thank you very much.

[Yeltsin] Shall I give you the numbers? As of 1 January, we will have 9,915 strategic nuclear weapon warheads. According to the START II Treaty, 3-3,500 will remain—3-3,500 warheads. This number is not possessed by any other single state, only by the United States and Russia; I stress, not a single other state, including nuclear powers like China, Great Britain, and France. This is a powerful shield which can protect Russia in case of unexpected aggression from any side.

[Kostikov] Final question. Ann Compton.

[Compton] President Bush, do you think that the START II—START-I and START II—can be ratified and implemented if the United States does not come forward with or even increase the amount of aid that some of the other countries need to actually dismantle the weapons they have?

[Bush] I think the ratification will stand on its own merit. Congress will look at it and in my view Congress will hold hearings and will then ratify. Clearly we all have a stake in helping, in being sure that the materials are properly disposed of, and the United States will be ready to assist to the best of our ability. But I don't see a resolution to that second question being required before this treaty is ratified.

[Unidentified correspondent] Should America allocate more funds to create the conditions that are necessary for this treaty?

[Bush] The treaty and the protocol speak for themselves, but clearly, I think the new administration will be as interested as we have been in helping Russia in every way we possibly can. I expect that it will get to that subject, as it will to credits and a lot of other things, so I think that the treaty will be ratified. I think that it will be implemented, and to the degree possible when the United States can be of assistance when times are tough for Russia, this will demonstrate our interest in this partnership. When we help.

[Kostikov] Gentlemen, our time is up. In 10 minutes President Bush has to leave for the airport. Therefore, we thank President George Bush and President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. I thank the correspondents for their participation in the news conference. Thank you. Goodbye.

Foreign Ministry Details Treaty Provisions

LD0301063693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0554 GMT 3 Jan 93

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—On the eve of signing the START-2 Treaty by the Russian and U.S. Presidents, the Russian Foreign Ministry circulated a press release on Saturday to convey basic provisions of the document of worldwide importance.

The press release says the following:

"January 3, 1993, will witness an event to mark a new stage of interaction between Russia and the United States in reduction of arsenals of offensive nuclear arms.

On that day in Moscow Presidents Boris Yeltsin and George Bush will sign a treaty on further reduction and limitation of strategic offensive armaments (START-2), following the spirit of the Charter of Russian-U.S. Partnership and Friendship and in accordance with the framework agreement reached on June 17, 1992.

The content of the treaty comes to the following:

—By January 1, 2003, the total quantity of nuclear warheads on strategic offensive armaments of Russia and the United States (intercontinental ballistic missiles, submarine-based ballistic missiles and heavy bombers) will amount to 3,000-3,500 units.

This means the nuclear arsenals of the sides will be reduced by approximately two thirds in comparison with

their current level (over 20,000 units) or halved in comparison with the level coordinated by the START-1 Treaty;

—All intercontinental ballistic missiles with independently targeted fractionated warheads shall be eliminated to remove from the sides' nuclear armaments the most destabilizing element, which contributes to the provoking of a preemptive or counterforce nuclear strike;

—Each of the sides shall reduce the number of nuclear warheads at their submarine-based ballistic missiles to a level of 1,700- 1,750 units. This is a two-time reduction in comparison with the START-1 Treaty, of the military component of the U.S. strategic offensive weapons amounting to 3,456 nuclear warheads;

—Limits shall be put on nuclear warheads with which heavy bombers of the sides can be equipped. The limit varies from 750 to 1,250 units of nuclear warheads of any type, either air launched long range cruise missiles, or short range cruise missiles or nuclear bombs.

Thus, an essentially new rule of count shall be introduced.

If under the START-1 Treaty the nuclear warheads' count on heavy bombers was of relative character (for instance, ten warheads are counted on U.S. heavy bombers equipped for air launched long range nuclear cruise missiles, meanwhile some types of heavy bombers are technically capable of carrying up to 20 warheads) and the United States under this treaty theoretically had an opportunity to increase at the expense of its heavy bombers the real (not counted) number of nuclear warheads by 2,000-2,500 units, the START-2 Treaty eliminates this possibility and "cuts" the U.S. arsenal of air launched nuclear systems.

Reductions and limitations of strategic offensive armaments will be achieved in two stages.

At the first stage, during seven years after the START Treaty enters into force, each of the sides will reduce its strategic offensive armaments so that:

—Its overall level of strategic offensive armaments' warheads does not exceed 3,800-4,250 units;

—The quantity of warheads on intercontinental ballistic missiles with independently targeted fractionated warheads does not exceed 1,200 units;

—The quantity of warheads on heavy intercontinental ballistic missiles does not exceed 650 units;

—The quantity of warheads on submarine-based ballistic missiles does not exceed 2,160 units.

At the second stage before January 1, 2003, all other measures to achieve strategic offensive armaments' limits established for the sides will be done.

—The START-2 treaty also carries provisions to regulate the order of re-equipment of reduced or limited components of strategic offensive armaments. For instance, each of the sides has the right to lessen the quantity of warheads counted on intercontinental ballistic missiles with independently targeted fractionated warheads (with the exception of heavy missiles) up to one warhead, or submarine-based ballistic missiles of existing types.

This provision is of an essential importance for Russia. It is known, Russian strategic forces include such intercontinental ballistic missiles with independently targeted fractionated warheads as SS-19 each carrying six warheads.

Under the START-2 Treaty, the Russian side has the right to re-equip 105 SS-19 intercontinental ballistic missiles with independently targeted fractionated warheads to intercontinental ballistic missiles with one warhead.

—Under the START-2 Treaty, each of the sides has the right to re-equip its intercontinental ballistic missiles' silos launchers to silos accommodating single-warhead missiles.

This provision is of special importance for Russia, since the emptied heavy missile silos launchers can be re-equipped for silos launchers for one-warhead intercontinental ballistic missiles with the observation of certain procedures.

—Finally, the START-2 Treaty envisages the sides' right to re- orient up to 100 heavy bombers for the fulfillment of non-nuclear tasks. These aircraft will not be counted in the overall fixed levels.

This provision was included on the proposal of the U.S., which has recently more than once used its heavy bombers for the fulfillment of the above-mentioned "non-strategic" functions.

To exclude a possibility of vagueness in treaty limitations, Russia insisted on special notes on a strict regime for this group of heavy bombers. So, the U.S. side can return a re-oriented heavy bomber to the nuclear category no more than once. Any procedure connected with the re-orientation of a heavy bomber, will be carried out under reliable control.

—While signing the START-2 Treaty, Russia and the United States begin building a basement of qualitatively new relations in the military-strategic sphere. Parameters of reductions and limits envisaged by the document naturally go with the two countries' desire to keep the strategic balance at the dramatically lowered level to guarantee the provision of strategic stability and predictability of the development of the situation on the two centuries' junction.

—The treaty also takes into account such an important thing as obligations of Belarus, Kazakhstan and

Ukraine to join the treaty on non-proliferation of nuclear arms as non-nuclear states.+

A document with similar content has been circulated by the U.S. side.

Chernomyrdin Hails Signing of Treaty

LD0301135493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1331 GMT 3 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Yuriy Sizov and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin today referred to the signing of the second Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START-2) as a great event.

"All people in Russia have long been looking forward to this event," Chernomyrdin told ITAR-TASS immediately after the joint news conference of the presidents of Russia and the United States, during which Boris Yeltsin pointed out in particular that the Cabinet had remained practically unchanged and that the "Government and its chairman are reform-minded and will go ahead with reforms along the same lines".

In this connection Chernomyrdin reaffirmed that "the Government's policy will remain the same, in the main," and that he will be implementing the economic programme that was worked out in the Government of Russia during the past year.

The premier also said he intends to present his considerations within the next few days about a mechanism for the realisation of reforms, particularly from the viewpoint of the social protection of the population.

Grachev Comments on START II

OW0301173493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1712 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Sunday, commenting on the signing of the Russian-U.S. START-2 Treaty, which envisages further reductions and limitations of the two countries' strategic nuclear arsenals, the Russian Defense Minister, General Pavel Grachev, said that the main objective of the new Treaty—to insure security for both Russia and the U.S. at a much lower level of nuclear potentials of either country—has been achieved. In the words of the Defense Minister, this goal will be fulfilled by cutting Russian and U.S. nuclear warheads down to 3,000-3,500 pieces on either side, which will reduce their number by 3-4 times against the current level.

Head of the Russian Defense Ministry observed that the U.S. will destroy all of its most updated MX intercontinental ballistic missiles [ICBMs], reduce by three the number of nuclear warheads to the Midgetman-3 ICBMs, cut by more than three times the warheads to the ballistic missiles carried by the U.S. nuclear submarines, and by several times those carried by heavy bombers.

In addition, General Pavel Grachev emphasized, the reductions implemented by the U.S. side will also affect the most precise high- tech warheads installed in the ICBMs and the ballistic missiles, including the Trident-2 systems, carried by U.S. nuclear submarines, which have long aroused Russia's concern.

In regards to strategic aviation, the Defense Minister noted the importance of the U.S. compliance to include in the levels of warheads not only long-range cruise missiles, but also short-range cruise missiles and nuclear air bombs which can be carried by the aircraft other than heavy bombers.

Commenting on the reductions of the Russian strategic nuclear arsenals, the Defense Minister accentuated the commitment by Russia to destroy the remaining number of the heavy stationary ICBMs which would have remained unaffected following the implementation of the START-1 Treaty. Pavel Grachev had to admit, however, that Russia conceded to this "exclusively rational measure" proceeding not only from its strategic and political motives, but for economic reasons as well. In acquiescing in the destruction of the heavy ICBMs, in reality, we just have given up our plans for their further updating and production, the Defense Minister said. He indicated that the service life of the heavy ICBMs, which are currently kept in combat duty mode, will expire by the same period as has been specified in the implementation terms of the START-2 Treaty. Russia would have to destroy them unilaterally anyway, he said. Besides, General Grachev observed, these ICBMs were built in Ukraine, and therefore a transition of their production to Russian territory would have been overly costly for Russia.

The Defense Minister placed special emphasis on the fact that the START-2 accord "does not imply that Russia is losing its nuclear missile capabilities on land". He said that the grouping of the Russian nuclear strategic forces, which is currently shaped in the context of the START-2 Treaty, will enable Russia to maintain in the year 2003 and later a sufficient number of nuclear capabilities to deter a nuclear attack against Russia or its allies from any potential aggressor.

On the whole, General Grachev noted, the limitation levels established by the Treaty fully comply with Russia's long-term plans of development of strategic nuclear forces, as well as the actual potentials of the Russian economy.

The Russian Defense Minister said he is convinced that in the near future the new Treaty will be widely discussed on various levels, emphasizing that military experts are ready to persuade everyone that decisions were correct and to prepare the Treaty for ratification by the Russian Supreme Soviet.

Discusses Treaty Limitations

LD0401060793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0330 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Comment by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev on the START II Treaty; place and date not given; from the "Nachalo" program—recorded]

[Text] The treaty's main objective is to ensure security for both Russia and the United States at a much lower level of nuclear potential of either country and, thus, to reinforce strategic stability. This goal will be fulfilled by cutting Russian and U.S. nuclear warheads to 3,000-3,500 pieces on either side by 1 January 2003, which will reduce their number by about 3-4 times against the current level of compliance by both sides with their undertakings laid down in the 22 May 1972 treaty on limiting antimissile defense systems.

Therefore, the United States will destroy all of its most updated MX intercontinental ballistic missiles; reduce by a factor of three the number of nuclear warheads to the Midgetman-3 ICBM's; and cut by more than a factor of three the warheads to the ballistic missiles carried by the U.S. nuclear submarines and, by several times, those carried by heavy bombers. In addition, it is important to point out that the reductions implemented by the U.S. side in this process will affect the most precise high-tech modern warheads installed in ICBMs and ballistic missiles, including the Trident-2 systems, carried by nuclear submarines, which have aroused our concern in many instances.

As for strategic aviation, it is important to emphasize in this respect that the United States has conceded to a real, unconditional (?reduction)—as was agreed upon in the START I Treaty—by including nuclear warheads on heavy bombers—Article 4 of this treaty. It means that not only long-range cruise missiles will be included in the levels of warheads, but also short-range guided cruise missiles and nuclear bombs that can be carried by heavy bombers.

As for the Russian strategic nuclear forces, it has a bearing, first and foremost, on the commitment by our country to destroy the remaining half of the heavy stationary ICBM's that would have remained unaffected following the implementation of the START I Treaty. These heavy ICBM's have always been a matter of special concern for the United States, on one hand, and could potentially become the main target for a preemptive first strike against our group of strategic nuclear forces on the other.

To tell you straight, we have acceded to this exclusively responsible step, proceeding not only from military, strategic, and political motives, but for economic reasons as well. To be fair, the following point has to be made: In acceding to the destruction of the heavy ICBM's, in reality we have given up nothing but our plans for their further updating and production. The service life of the heavy ICBM's that currently exist and are kept on combat duty mode will expire at approximately the same time as has been specified in the timetable for the implementation of the new treaty. They will have to be destroyed anyway, but that would have been a unilateral action otherwise. Besides, these ICBM's used to be built in Ukraine; therefore, a transition of their production directly to the Russian territory would have required enormous financial and material investment. We should also bear in mind other priorities of the development of the Russian Armed Forces, in accordance with the current military reform.

The above does not imply by any means that Russia is losing its land-based nuclear missile capability. It has to be underlined that the grouping of the Russian nuclear strategic forces, which is currently shaped in the context of the START II Treaty, will enable Russia to maintain by the year 2003 and after facilities with combat capabilities such as would guarantee deterrence to a nuclear attack against Russia or its allies from any potential aggressor. On the whole, the limitations established by the Treaty fully comply with our long-term plans of development of strategic nuclear forces, as well as the actual potentials of the Russian industry and economy.

Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan Informed of Treaty

OW0301130293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1244 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has told IF [INTERFAX]'s correspondent that he sent messages to his counterparts in Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan, outlining the basic elements of the Russian-American treaty on cuts in strategic offensive weapons (START-2). According to him, "we behave correctly and do not ignore the lawful interests of our neighbors". Groups of experts, A. Kozyrev said, are to come to Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan in the near future to familiarize their officials with START-2. Ukraine has already announced its willingness to receive such experts, he said.

In the past few days he had several telephone conversations with Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko, who expressed support for START-2, said A. Kozyrev. Nevertheless he noted that Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan "have nothing to do with the treaty, strictly speaking, and they are well aware of this".

The Russian foreign minister deplored the fact that the parliaments of some republics, such as Ukraine, are delaying the ratification of START-1, and pointed out that it's inadmissible to "dally with such an issue, as non-proliferation of nuclear arms".

Kozyrev on Ukraine, Kazakhstan Nuclear Problems

LD0301223593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 3 Jan 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Part of the nuclear potential of the former USSR is concentrated in three other republics. This was recalled today by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. Today he reported on plans for Russian experts who have been working on the START II treaty to visit the three independent states. Ukraine has already agreed to this. However, Kozyrev considers that there is a tendency in Ukraine to use for political ends the fact that there are Russian nuclear weapons on the territory of the republic. The situation is made worse by the fact that there are two different political forces operating in Ukraine.

The minister noted that a similar situation is also developing in Kazakhstan, from where, he said, mixed signals are emanating regarding Alma-Ata's approach to issues of nuclear disarmament. However, Andrey Kozyrev still hopes that a correct point of view will prevail.

Ukraine's Zlenko Assures Kozyrev of Support

LD0101150993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1426 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] Moscow January 1 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev had a telephone conversation with his Ukrainian counterpart A. Zlenko on Thursday, during which the Ukrainian foreign minister declared his full support of the START-2 Treaty. Sources from the Russian Foreign Ministry reported that the two foreign ministers stressed the need to implement the lisbon protocol as soon as possible.

In the sphere of ensuring a nuclear-free status of Ukraine, the two ministers agreed to speed up negotiations concerning technical aspects of eliminating nuclear weapons stationed on the territory of Ukraine.

The two ministers expressed the confidence that the year 1993 would be marked by strengthening fraternal cooperation between the two countries and their people on a new basis.

Proclaims 'Full Support' for START II

LD3112210492 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2037 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] Moscow, 31 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—This evening there has been a telephone conversation between Foreign Minister A.V. Kozyrev and Ukrainian Foreign Minister A.M. Zlenko, during which the Ukrainian foreign minister proclaimed his full support for the START II agreement. The Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that the need for the rapidest possible implementation of the Lisbon protocol was also stressed. In the context of ensuring the nuclear-free status of Ukraine, the ministers agreed to accelerate talks regarding technical aspects of the destruction of nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory. The conviction was expressed that the coming year of 1993 would be noted for a reinforcement of the fraternal partnership between the two countries and peoples on a new foundation.

Ukraine's Kravchuk on Treaty Signing

LD0301210093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1700 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has issued a statement in connection with the signing of START II, the Russian-U.S. treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons. The statement stresses in particular that the signing by Russia and the United States of the treaty on strategic offensive weapons is an important political act which testifies to the consistency of steps on the path of nuclear disarmament.

The statement notes that the Russian-U.S. treaty does not place any obligation on Ukraine and the action does not extend to her territory. Along with this, Ukraine is consistently moving toward the aim, declared by its Supreme Council, of becoming a nuclear-free state in the future. I believe, Leonid Kravchuk stressed, that the higher legislative body of Ukraine will positively examine the treaty on strategic offensive weapons and the Lisbon protocol, and by the same token Ukraine will be one of the first to undertake the historic step in the direction of freeing the world of nuclear weapons.

We call on all states that possess nuclear weapons, the statement says, to follow this example and to cooperate in the direction of creating an atmosphere of trust and security among peoples. We hope that agreements reached earlier will be realized in the next few days and that inter-state Ukrainian-Russian negotiations will take place on a wide range of technical and financial issues connected with the future implementation of the agreement on strategic offensive weapons and the Lisbon protocol.

We regard with approval the initiative of the government of the Russian Federation, the United States, and France about a moratorium on nuclear testing, and appeal for this moratorium to be transformed into a permanent halt to all types of nuclear explosions by all nuclear powers, the statement by Leonid Kravchuk notes.

Ukraine's Stand on START Reviewed

LD0301163693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1601 GMT 3 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS military writer Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 3 TASS—The future of the Russian-U.S. START II Treaty signed in Moscow on Sunday, which drastically cuts strategic nuclear arsenals of both states, will to a certain extent depend on Ukraine on whose territory a unit of strategic offensive weapons

of the former Soviet nuclear missile complex is deployed. Ukraine has not yet ratified the START I Treaty which envisages a 25-30 per cent cut in U.S. and former Soviet nuclear warheads.

Although the new treaty was already praised by statesmen from various countries and was characterised as an important document promoting world stability by Russian First Deputy Defence Minister Andrey Kokoshin, most experts believe that its ratification will directly depend on whether Ukraine ratifies the START I.

Ukrainian Ambassador in Moscow Vladimir Kryzhanovskiy said before the new year that the Ukrainian Parliament will ratify the START I only after a detailed study of all its provisions. However, several of the provisions do not suit Ukraine, according to Konstantin Grischenko, head of the Arms Reduction and Disarmament Department of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry.

Before ratifying the START I Ukraine would like to receive guarantees of its own security. It also demands that the components of nuclear materials which remain after the elimination of nuclear charges deployed on its territory become Ukrainian property. It also requests the right of technical control over the engagement of strategic nuclear arms deployed on its territory so that their use becomes impossible from outside Ukraine without the consent of its leadership.

Grischenko also said that the United States promised to give Ukraine 175 million dollars to help fulfil the programme of transferring and eliminating its nuclear weapons. However, Ukrainian experts calculated that 1.5 billion dollars are necessary to implement the programme.

Ukraine Official Comments on Treaty

LD3112162792 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0100 GMT 31 Dec 92

[From the "Ukrainian Diary" program]

[Text] Yesterday [29 December] at the press center of the Foreign Ministry of Ukraine, head of the Permanent Parliamentary Commission on International Affairs, Dmytro Pavlychko, met with Ukrainian and foreign journalists. Discussed were the forthcoming START treaty ratification and the attitude of Ukraine's leadership towards the CIS regulation.

In particular Dmytro Pavlychko said that Ukraine's position on this issue has been already formulated. Ukraine's Government hasn't signed the CIS treaty in reference to common armed forces and common borders. The leadership of Ukraine intends to introduce soon Ukraine's own national currency and doesn't intend to sign the CIS agreement about a single economic space. Moreover Dmytro Pavlychko gave a brief account of the current foreign policy of Ukraine.

The journalists were especially interested in the forthcoming ratification of the START treaty which deals with the elimination of nuclear armaments in Ukraine. According to Dmytro Pavlychko one of the main terms of the treaty must be the agreement between Ukraine and nuclear powers, not only about nonaggression but about safeguarding of peace and security of Ukraine.

There is one more important aspect of this problem: dismantling of nuclear facilities located on the Ukrainian territory. Dmytro Pavlychko said that such a complicated process must be organized at the corresponding highest technical level. And he stressed that Ukraine does not deviate from its antinuclear declaration proclaimed not so long ago.

And also the head of the parliamentary commission on international affairs dwelt on the question of the forthcoming visit of Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk to Israel, and the aspects of Ukraine's cooperation with new independent states, Czech and Slovak Republics.

Heads of Asian States Open Summit in Tashkent

OW0301174693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1713 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The heads of states of Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan at their summit which opened in Tashkent this Sunday [3 January] will address the political and economic situation in the CIS, as well as their regional problems.

The Tashkent summit is attended by Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Kyrghyz President Askar Akayev, Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov, and head of the Tajik parliament Imamali Rahmonov. At the airport in Tashkent the guests were welcomed by Uzbek President Islam Karimov. In addition to the heads of states, the delegations include the republics' prime ministers, vice premiers, heads of economic and defense ministries.

The official opening of the summit, the signing ceremony of the Final Communique, as well as a press conference of the summit participants will take place on January 4. During the summit, the parties are also expected to sign a number of bilateral agreements. The talks will be held in the Palace of Friendship in Tashkent.

Main Items on Agenda Cited

OW0401082893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0809 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The conference of heads of states from Central Asia and Kazakhstan officially opened in the Uzbek capital Tashkent on Monday [4 January].

Leaders from five republics are expected to discuss a range of issues concerning future economic integration, a unified Central Asian market, the co-ordination of social programmes in 1993, the protection of borders, and ensuring peace among the region's population. The ruble zone, pricing policy and mutual accounting, and humanitarian aid to Tajikistan will also be discussed. The meeting is expected to produce a joint communique.

On the day before his departure for Tashkent, Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev told the press that the situation faced by the CIS in the run up to the Minsk summit would also be one of the main items on the conference's agenda.

Joint Communique Issued

OW0401124793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1231 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The participants of the summit represented by the Middle Asian states and Kazakhstan and held in Tashkent, the capital of Uzbekistan, reconfirmed their readiness to render "comprehensive assistance to the fraternal Tajik people." They also supported the measures undertaken by the Tajik leadership to draw the republic out of the critical political and economic situation as soon as possible.

The joint communique of the head of five states, which was signed on Monday [4 January] and concerned the results of the summit, advocates "the strengthening of moral support to the constitutional power of Tajikistan and of humanitarian assistance with food, medicines, and cloth." The document states that in the summit, the parties shared their opinion concerning international cooperation to agree on the actions in this sphere, including the strengthening of regional security and peace.

The participants of the summit discussed proposals to implement coordinated policy in the economic, financial, and other spheres under the stage-by-stage transfer to the market. The document cites that the cooperation of the countries of this region helped to soften the consequences of the industrial recession and inflation to a certain extent.

The summit's participants stand for a regular conduction of such meetings and decided to hold the next summit in April in Ashgabat, the capital of Turkmenistan.

The joint communique will be published in Interfax "Presidential Bulletin" dated January 4.

Baltic Nations Coordinate Farming Strategies

OW0201162693 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1511 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On New Year's Eve, the Latvian and Estonian Ministers and the Lithuanian Deputy Minister of Agriculture decided, in Riga, that the Baltics must develop a concerted approach to relations with international organizations, say, the European Community.

The Ministers considered the protection of the Baltic marketplace against foreign farm imports and decided their countries must set up a working group to reach a specific decision on the issue.

Yeltsin Sends 'Personal Message' to Clinton

LD0201205893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Jan 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] President Yeltsin, on the eve of his meeting with George Bush, sent a personal message to U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton. As an RIA correspondent discovered, in this message, apart from New Year's greetings, Yeltsin highly appraised the START II treaty and expressed himself in favor of holding a meeting with Bill Clinton after he is inaugurated on 20 January.

Britain's Major Congratulates Bush, Yeltsin

LD0301113793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1049 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] London January 3 TASS—Prime Minister John Major sent a personal message on Saturday congratulating U.S. President George Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin on concluding the START-2 Treaty, the REUTER news agency reported.

Major's message to Yeltsin said: "It's a great achievement and one which dramatically reduces the threat of nuclear war."

His message to Bush said: "It's a tribute to your skill and leadership and will be one of many achievements to which your presidency will be honoured.

Major also pointed out that the agreement was a "significant contribution to world peace and people would be grateful to both of them for the lead they have shown."

Bush flew into Moscow on Saturday to crown his presidency with the signing of the historic arms pact billed by Yeltsin as "the agreement of the century," REUTER noted.

The Start-2 Treaty will scrap some of the world's deadliest nuclear missiles and slash both sides' arsenals by about two-thirds, the agency added.

Unchanged Nature of U.S. Foreign Policy Viewed

PM3112140192 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 92 First Edition p 7

[Article by Vitaliy Trifonov: "Past Does Not Seem a Dream"]

[Text] The global changes which have taken place recently in international relations have, I think, removed the nuclear threat from the agenda. The disappearance of the Soviet Union and the course toward democratization and radical reforms of its former republics have made politicians think in new terms. We have finally been seen as ordinary, normal people who harbor no grudges and have no intention of subjugating other peoples. With the end of the cold war East and West have ceased to tread on each other's heels in third countries.

It is hard not to acknowledge the positive nature of all these changes. With the collapse of the Soviet Union there is just one superpower left in the world. The world itself has changed from being bipolar to being unipolar, with all the consequences this entails..

Of course, we have changed, but has U.S. foreign policy changed? The events of the past year or two cause us to display a certain skepticism. Having always laid claim to the role of sole world leader, Washington seems now to have started to act particularly self-confidently in the international arena. The "new world order" philosophy proclaimed on the Potomac as it acquires flesh is increasingly coming to resemble the doctrines of past years—the same elements of globalism, the same inclination to act as a kind of "international policeman."

The United States' Operation "Restore Hope" in Somalia is a quite characteristic example. Purely superficially its motivation is high-minded—ensuring unimpeded access to food aid for the hungry who are the victims of warring groupings. Some 28,000 U.S. soldiers have been sent to Somalia with armored vehicles, tanks, aircraft, and helicopters. Formally the operation is being conducted under UN auspices but in actual fact the leadership of the operation has been wholly and fully assigned to the U.S. command.

What is notable is that no one has yet seen a U.S. serviceman in Somalia wearing a "blue helmet"—the symbol of association to the United Nations.

Need it be said that in the countries bordering Somalia, Operation "Restore Hope" has given rise to entirely justified fears? Can the operation not be assessed as a precedent for similar actions in other states? A pretext for invasion could be thought up without particular difficulty, citing the need to "maintain peace throughout the world," "humanitarian motives," and so forth. It will be enough to call someone a dictator, to accuse him of all moral sins, and "under UN auspices," to send in the airborne forces uninvited...

There is one more striking aspect of this operation. It began about six weeks before the retirement of President G. Bush and the arrival of Bill Clinton in the White House after winning the elections. The imminent changing of the guard in Washington has not stopped those who like to flex their military muscles. They may have embarked on this deliberately in order to "commit" Clinton.

There is no denying that Clinton is still an unknown on the foreign policy plane. One can only guess what its outlines and content will be like under him. But I should like to hope that Washington's age-old postulates—America must act and not simply react, lead and not wait for upheavals—will be interpreted by him in favor of the genuine interests of his own and other peoples.

Grachev, Kitovani Agree To Halt Russian Air Force Flights

LD3112132292 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1155 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] Moscow, 31 Dec—Georgian Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani, in a talk with journalists, expressed satisfaction at the results of his meeting in Moscow with Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. The Georgian minister disclosed the intention of the two sides to create joint Russian-Georgian border subunits to prevent formations of mercenaries from penetrating Georgian territory.

As the press center of the Georgian permanent mission in Moscow reported, with reference to Tengiz Kitovani, an agreement has been reached on halting flights over Georgian territory by the Russian Air Force. At the same time, the Georgian defense minister stressed that final decisions on the agreements reached at the meeting in Moscow will be made by his country's parliament.

Fail To Discuss Troops in Abkhazia

OW3112141192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1344 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Despite the expectations, at their meeting in Moscow on Thursday the Russian and Georgian Defense Ministers did not discussed the issues concerning the transfer of the military property of the Russian forces stationed on the territory of the republic to Georgia. In his interview with INTERFAX Tengiz Kitovani pointed out that "this issue is the prerogative of the parliaments." In his turn the Russian Defense Minister, Pavel Grachev, believes that this issue should be considered by the governments. This statement is contained in the official information distributed by the Defense Ministry in Moscow. The Ministers have not discussed the issue on the transfer of the Russian military base in Poti either.

Without opposing to the presence of the Russian forces in Georgia, Kitovani raised the issue concerning the withdrawal of the Russian forces from the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict zone. In his reply Grachev underlined that they cannot discuss the issue on the withdrawal of the Russian forces not participating in the conflict, these issues should be solved at the intergovernmental level. The Russian minister expressed his protest to the Georgian side due to the illegal actions with respect to the Russian forces stationed on Georgia's territory.

The ministers agreed to form an expert commission to supervise the actions of the servicemen of both countries in the conflict zone in Abkhazia, Kitovani reported. According to the Georgian Minister, the commission is to develop a document for the leadership of both countries concerning the expediency of the further presence of the Russian army in Abkhazia.

Meanwhile Elena Agapopva, the press secretary of the Russian Defense Minister, reported to INTERFAX that the expert groups would be busy with the development of an agreement between the Defense Ministries of two countries to prevent conflict situations and to establish the order to react to them.

Nevertheless in his interview with INTERFAX Tengiz Kitovani expressed his satisfaction with the meeting saying that now the relations between the Georgian and Russian servicemen "will be well-disposed ones." He made it clear that to prevent the intrusion of the volunteers of the Confederation of the Caucasian Peoples to Abkhazia the Russian-Georgian border will apparently be guarded by joint detachments of the Russian and Georgian armies.

Grachev Arrives in UAE To Discuss Arms Sales

LD0301185693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1722 GMT 3 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu Dhabi January 3 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev arrived in the United Arab Emirates [UAE] on Sunday as head of a representative military delegation consisting of 20 people.

This is the first-ever visit of a Russian defence minister (including Soviet times) to the Persian Gulf country.

The trip of Grachev, who will also visit Kuwait, confirms Russian intention to play such a role in the Gulf which would correspond to its position of a great power with due consideration of political, economic and strategic interests.

During the three-day visit, which is of a great political importance, the Russian minister will meet UAE President Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan and discuss issues of military cooperation with his UAE counterpart, Shaykh Muhammad Bin-Rashid Al Maktum, and with chief of staff of the armed forces Shaykh Muhammad Bin-Zayid Al Nahayyan.

The leaderships of the UAE and other Gulf states make steps towards the development of relations with Russia, including in the military sphere, and count on the Russian role and influence in promoting peace, security and stability in the region. Armed forces of several countries of the region are already armed with Russian hardware.

The visit of the defence minister will promote military relations with the UAE, including in the sphere of armaments. Moscow does not intend to unilaterally abandon the profitable arms trade in which the USA, Great Britain and France are actively engaged on the Arabian Peninsula.

Russian diplomatic sources note that the development of military-technical relations with Persian Gulf states will be promoted by Russia on a balanced basis. It will not

allow that its weapons are detrimental to security, are used against third countries or in destructive purposes.

Kozyrev Views Nagorno-Karabakh With Armenian President

LD3112211692 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2032 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] Moscow, 31 Dec (ITAR-TASS)—A telephone conversation has taken place between Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev. The Russian Federation Foreign Ministry reported that during their conversation they discussed practical steps directed toward a political settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict and also the strengthening of friendly ties between both peoples and states in the coming year.

With Turkey's Cetin

LD3112211792 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1754 GMT 31 Dec 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow December 31 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Turkish counterpart Hikmet Cetin had a telephone conversation on Thursday and discussed CSCE efforts aimed at solving the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh which had aggravated of late after a series of incidents on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border.

The ministers also exchanged opinions on the situation in Bosnia- Hercegovina.

Envoy Sees 1992 as 'Painful' Year in DPRK Relations

SK3112142192 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1200 GMT 30 Dec 92

[From the "Today's World" program]

[Text] Fadeyev, Russian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the DPRK, was interviewed by (Nagaskyevich), the Pyongyang-based ITAR-TASS correspondent. The ambassador summed up Russia-DPRK cooperation in 1992:

Frankly speaking, the year 1992 was complicated and painful in Russia-North Korea relations. The two countries renewed the awareness of the principles of bilateral relations. This was made in light of the great change in Russia, the Korean peninsula, and the world at large, the Russian ambassador said, appraising the year about to be concluded.

There are still quite a few difficulties in economic relations resulting, above all, from the change to payment in hard currency for trade and the abolition of the [word indistinct] of the new Russian external economic organizations. Nevertheless, on the whole, the process of accommodating the new conditions are making good progress, Ambassador Fadeyev noted.

At the same time, the amount of trade between Russia and the DPRK increased to a certain degree during 1992, amounting to approximately $600 million. The use of Korean manpower in logging and construction projects in Siberia and the Far East and cooperation in the fields of fishing and light industry continued. We are planning to establish the Tumen River trade and economic zone on the Russia-DPRK-China border and push ahead with large-scale projects of mutual advantage, such as building and repairing ships at DPRK shipyards based on orders from Russia.

Referring to the present task in bilateral relations, the Russian ambassador said that regular consultative meetings on the pressing problems on the Korean peninsula should be reinstated, and the issue of the debt North Korea owes to Russia should be settled. The debt amounts to more than 3 billion rubles in terms of value as of 1990. The reimbursement will take years, and it should be made on the basis of increasing economic cooperation.

Ambassador Fadeyev expressed a conviction that the DPRK is an able partner and an important part [kori] of the neighborly zone [sollin tae] surrounding Russia.

Replying to the question on the overall Korean situation, the Russian ambassador said that the countries concerned, such as Russia, China, the United States, and Japan, ought to create a favorable environment to help Pyongyang and Seoul find a way to a nuclear-free Korean peninsula. If nuclear weapons appear in Korea, it is very dangerous for the entire region [chon chiyok].

As for the issue of North-South reunification, the most urgent issue for the Korean nation, the Korean people should find a solution to which they themselves can agree. Russia truly wishes a peaceful democratic reunified Korea to emerge for them, Ambassador Fadeyev said.

Foreign Ministry Official Hails Cooperation Treaty With ROK

SK0201045593 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Commentary by (Yarikov), "high-level Russian Foreign Ministry official," from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] A Russian-ROK treaty on cultural and scientific cooperation was signed in Seoul some time ago. It is one of most important agreements concluded recently between our two countries.

This treaty presents a basic direction of cooperation between the two countries which will be carried out practically in all fields of spiritual life including music, science, education and sports. This treaty foresees

exchanges between creative groups, trade union delegations, and cultural and scientific activists of the two countries, as well as the development of contact between individuals.

The treaty attaches importance to cultural events held on national holidays of our two countries, and on significant days in the history of Russian-ROK relations.

For example, the film presentation week will be observed in our countries, and exhibitions will be organized. Such renowned Russian art groups as (Krapaya Austi) Siberian dance troupe and (Mizinska) dance troupe will visit the ROK. On the other hand, the ROK will send creative groups to our country.

A ROK delegation will also attend the traditional Tchaikovskiy international music contest in Moscow. A wide range of cooperation will be realized between the people from the motion picture sector. In addition, they will produce joint art and documentary films.

The treaty foresees the dispatch of authoritative ROK delegations to international festivals held in Russia. On the other hand, Russian film specialists will visit the ROK.

Cooperation between leagues of creative groups of the two countries will also be realized. Through this channel, delegations of the writers union, fine artists union, music composers union, journalists union, and architects union, will be exchanged.

This treaty also foresees large-scale exchanges between college students and graduate students in Russia and the ROK, as well as the exchange of materials on scientific education. The two countries attach importance to expanding exchanges in public health and sports fields.

The treaty signed recently in Seoul between Russia and the ROK on cultural and scientific cooperation will contribute to expanding and strengthening multilateral relations between the peoples in our two countries.

In conclusion, I wish a happy new year to all of the ROK listeners, and many blessings to you all in the new year.

Nation To Tighten Open Borders in 1993

OW3112143592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In 1993 Russia will have to apply maximum effort to strengthen its "blurred" borders, Russia's First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko stated in Moscow on Wednesday.

He told journalists that over the past 12 months, the former Union's frontier troops have been cut down by 50%. As a result, the border with Mongolia is not guarded at all. The situation on the Tajik-Afghan border is also complicated.

To quote Shumeyko, any person can come to Russia now. Anyone can buy an air ticket and fly to Russia from, say, neighboring Azerbaijan, he said. Shumeyko said that the Russian government intends to do away with such practice.

Foreign Trade Activity in 1993 Assessed

PM3112151192 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Dec 92 p 1

[Report by Yuriy Petrov, chief of the Economic Administration of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, under the "Foreign Economic Relations Ministry Information" rubric: "We Sold Commodities and Raw Materials Worth $49 Billion"]

[Text] What commodities, and in what quantities, did Russia sell abroad during the outgoing year? To what extent has the treasury been filled with currency? The results usually come out one month or even more after the end of the year: It is not that easy to quickly calculate operations by a huge mass of exporters. At the request of the ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI editorial office, two days ago the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations was able to provide a preliminary, albeit incomplete, assessment of the state of Russian foreign trade. The estimates of the Ministry of Fuel and Energy in respect of oil, petroleum products, and gas for 11 months were taken as the basis, and those of the State Customs Committee for 10 months in respect of other commodities.

Exports to distant foreign countries will total $49 billion in 1992. Compared with last year, they will have fallen 3.6 percent. Let us remind you that a year ago Russia exported commodities worth $50.9 billion. This also includes free aid, as well as deliveries on credit to countries known to be insolvent. Such aid has virtually ended this year. This means that commercial exports have increased somewhat.

Unfortunately, their structure is still not gratifying. We are firmly bogged down among those who traditionally trade mainly in fuel and raw materials and who have not yet won a worthy place in the market for finished products. In actual fact, energy sources account for more than 40 percent of the entire volume of trade. It is expected that we will be able to sell 64 million tonnes of oil and receive $8.4 billion for it. Compared with 1991, this is $1.2 billion or 17 percent more. Gas indicators will remain at last year's level—90.3 billion cubic meters, which will give us $7.5 billion. Deliveries of petroleum products will amount to 27 million tonnes, or $4.2 billion. They will fall by $0.9 billion (17 percent).

Let us note that licenses to sell oil to distant foreign parts were issued in respect of approximately 70 million tonnes. Why will the entire oil flow not reach foreign parts? Russia has been left with just one-fourth of the tonnage of the maritime fleet, and the main sections of oil pipelines pass through Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova. In addition, the transshipment centers of Ventspils,

Klaipeda, and Batumi have ended up in other states. All this complicates shipment and drives up the price of exports.

Very little machinery and equipment will reach the Western market. This is influenced both by the narrowing of their traditional sales market in the former CEMA countries and by the reduction in deliveries to developing states. We will be unable to fulfill our pledges with regard to giving technical assistance to many countries, and thus we will reduce our potential for exporting these products. Last year Russia gave such assistance to 21 countries, including eight by means of state credits. We have been unable fully to fund the plans that were outlined and to give them material and technical support.

And yet the overall result cannot be called disappointing. Although exports were carried out in an uneven and contradictory manner during the year, it has been possible to create a new system for regulating foreign economic activity. It is this that has ensured relative stability for exporters.

Meeting on Rocket Technology, Dual-Purpose Knowledge Export

OW3112155192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1455 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Igor Porshnev, and Dimitriy Voskoboynikov; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] An interdepartmental meeting was held in Moscow on Tuesday to discuss the position Russia should take at its forthcoming negotiations with the United States on the export of rocket technology and dual-purpose know-how. The meeting was, among others, attended by Supreme Soviet members.

One of the meeting's participants, Sergey Mikhailov, a member of the parliamentary Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, told DP [Diplomatic Panorama] the U.S. legislation contains more than 80 provisions restricting America's trade with Russia. In his opinion, this has nothing to do with ideology, the United States simply fearing market competition.

Some problems have been caused by the stance of the Russian Foreign Ministry. "The diplomats," he said, "for some reason think Russia must always take into consideration the interests of the United States and make concessions everywhere and at all times." This position "does not coincide with those of the other agencies concerned and that of the Supreme Soviet," he said.

Russian Foreign Economic Relations Minister Sergey Glazyev told DP there would be Russian-U.S. consultations on the problem in Moscow on January 11-13. He refused to comment of Russia's position, however, saying it had not yet been finally formulated.

The head of the Department of Control of Military Technologies, Sergey Chuvakhin, said in an interview with DP that, during the consultations, the Russians hope to resolve the disputes concerning the export of rocket technology. He said Russia demands that the United States end its discrimination against Russia in the world market of space services and science-intensive dual-purpose technologies.

However, "it will be fairly difficult to achieve this quickly since the Americans, as experience shows, stubbornly defend their economic interests."

According to Chuvakhin, Russia possesses a large number of carrier rockets capable of putting in orbit commercial satellites, including foreign ones. It will have more of them after Presidents Boris Yeltsin and George Bush sign the START II treaty in Sochi on January 3. That is a potential that makes Russia competitive in the world market of space services. However the country faces many obstacles here. Thus, 90 percent of the world electronic market is controlled by the United States. The U.S. legislation prohibits foreign countries to use in their satellites electronic components made in the United States without obtaining a license from it.

Chuvakhin cited South Korea's suggestion that the Russians put its satellites in orbit. But, since American chips were used in the satellites' processing systems, the Koreans had to ask the United States for consent. America refused, thwarting a bargain very profitable for Russia.

Chuvakhin pointed out that most of the present restrictive provisions were proposed in Congress by Democrats.

Commenting on Sergey Mikhailov's statements, Chuvakhin said the range of officials taking part in the negotiations on the export of rocket technology has considerably expanded in the past few weeks, strengthening Russia's position. As for different points of view on the issue, this, according to Chuvakhin, is normal whenever Russia's definitive position is prepared and discussed.

Poltoranin Discusses Role of Federal Information Center

LD0101153993 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1450 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Studio interview with Mikhail Nikiforovich Poltoranin, head of the Federal Information Center, by correspondent Andrey Yegorshev on the "Press-Express" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Yegorshev] Mikhail Nikiforovich, before I wish you a happy New Year, I would like to congratulate you on your appointment as head of the Federal Information Center. I would also like to quote your words about the presidential umbrella [for the media], so are you becoming a supporter of the mass media, radio and television, or becoming their chief?

[Poltoranin] Before I reply to this question, I would like to wish you a happy New Year.

[Yegorshev] Thank you.

[Poltoranin] I also wish you all the best and success. Most important, I wish success to your program, which I regard as a very interesting one. And through your program I would like to wish success, health, and happiness to all our viewers.

Now to your question. The umbrella does not mean some sort of censorship or orders for all the press. The umbrella will be used to shield independent mass media from the political hurricanes which are now sweeping through our society, as each form of authority tries to exert pressure on the mass media. I am not the chief, I am the coordinator.

In other words, according to an article of the law on the mass media, Russia's citizens have a right to receive full and trustworthy information about the work of their state bodies. We have not yet guaranteed them this right, because there are many loose ends, and so far there are no provisions for this policy line, as it were.

Our center will not become some sort of an inflated structure. I think it will have only about 50 people—analysts, forecasters, and people who will be constantly involved with journalists. So this is what the center is going to be like.

[Yegorshev] Mikhail Nikiforovich, a normal government in a democratic society always needs an opposition and an opposition press. Will the center support the opposition?

[Poltoranin] Naturally, we will not influence the opposition press in any way from the center. However, we will cooperate. We plan that this center will be able to buy space or inserts in the opposition press, for instance, in DEN, PRAVDA, or SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, just as advertising space is bought, in order to publish presidential decrees, comments on presidential decrees, comments on government decisions, finally, comments on Supreme Soviet decisions, that is, comments on decisions and decrees adopted at the highest level. In other words, we will implement state policy in all the media, not by pressure but by economic methods.

[Yegorshev] What is your forecast, as politician and journalist, of the state of the press next year?

[Poltoranin] You have perhaps noticed that the decline in print runs of rayon, oblast, regional—that is, interoblast—newspapers has been considerably less—there have even been frequent increases—than with the central newspapers. So the future belongs to these regional newspapers.

As regards the economy, or economic problems, we have done everything to ensure that these newspapers do not die. You know that throughout last year we provided subsidies to newspapers, and we are keeping these subsidies in 1993. Moreover, we plan to provide subsidies to all rayon newspapers from the federal budget.

Leaders Issue New Year's Greetings

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[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] Over many years we have become used to official congratulations. All countries have this tradition. So here are some Russian leaders wishing us a Happy New Year:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted]

[Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy] We should be more optimistic. It should not and it will not continue the way it was in 1992. The situation will change. And it should change fundamentally.

[Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet] It seems to me that all political forces should start consolidating, not to tear society apart but to consolidate it since we are indeed in a very difficult economic and political situation.

[Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin] I would like us to enter 1993 with confidence that we know what we should do. This is very important.

[First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko] I would like to wish all the women of Russia to be loved. Why? Because when a woman is loved, she is healthy, happy, and beautiful and copes with everything. And when we have women who are loved, healthy, and wonderful, everything else will be sorted out.

[Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin] We will keep going, as I usually say. The forecast is favorable. [end recording]

Cabinet Members on 1992 Results, 1993 Forecasts

OW3112164692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1638 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Report by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A number of government officials were speaking in an interview with INTERFAX on the outcome of the outgoing year and gave their own forecasts for 1993.

Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has described as unexpected his appointment as head of government. "All of what's been happening in the country was very important both to my colleagues and myself", he said. Outlining his cabinet's main priority in 1993, Chernomyrdin said it was hard work and responsibility.

Deputy Prime Minister Boris Saltykov, who is in charge of social security matters, believes that the start of reform was the main event in 1992, with the social security sector being worst-hit. However, he is more optimistic about the prospects for 1993 saying "we know all of our troubles and there can hardly be new ones coming. We've adapted ourselves and become more patient". He said that with a bit of luck, the country would be able to live through next year with greater dignity and less frustration than in 1992.

Press and information minister Mikhail Fedotov says that his involvement as the president's defence counsel in the recent litigation at the Constitutional Court over the legitimacy of the Soviet communist party was the central event of this year. The minister is sure that the parting of ways with the country's totalitarian communist past was highly important not only to himself as professional but to the whole of the society as well. His own priority for next year is to try to salvage the mass media and publishing business from negative implications of the economic reform.

Culture minister Yevgeniy Sidorov says that despite economic hardships, not only has domestic culture managed to survive, but there is a newly-emerging trend to try to bring back all of the best things of the past including folk art, literature and architecture. Although he complained about the shortage of funds for cultural needs, Sidorov said that Russian science and culture was a highly competitive export commodity and if properly used, even commercialization could help towards cultural development.

Military Educational Reform Debated

PM3112145592 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 29 Dec 92 pp 1, 2

[Oleg Vladykin report: "We Have a Strategy for Reforming Military Education. The Higher Education Establishments Themselves Will Determine the Tactics"]

[Text] As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, an All-Army Conference of leaders of Russian Federation Ministry of Defense military educational institutions was held in Moscow 23 through 25 December. Today we talk about the problems discussed during this impressive event.

The system of military education we inherited from the Union was formed historically. Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister, said in a short introductory speech at the all-Army conference. The number and capacity of military educational institutions do not meet the Army and Navy's real officer cadre requirements. Hence one of the primary tasks is to form a scientifically grounded state order for the training of military cadres taking account of the new structure and size of the Armed Forces. Only on the basis of such an order, thoroughly corroborated and adjusted, will we be able to form the optimum structure and capacity for military educational institutions and outline the basic phases for their reorganization.

The defense minister noted that in recent years the system of military education has developed to a significant degree in isolation from the country's higher schools. This alienation is felt most keenly by officers who are today being discharged into the reserve in line with reductions in the Armed Forces, and are obliged to adapt to new conditions of life. With the introduction in Russia of a new multilevel structure of higher education, it is necessary to determine clearly the place of military schools and academies in the higher school system and bring the training of students up to the level of state requirements.

Today the very content of military education is in many ways unsatisfactory. It is insufficiently geared toward the long term, and does not bear a preventive character, so to speak. Stressing applied studies and adhering only to today's requirements restricts officers' professional horizons and deprives them of the ability to assimilate new things in military science independently.

The vacuum that has arisen in the place of Marxism-Leninism study sessions should be filled by study of fundamentally new disciplines, including the history and culture of the Fatherland and officers' etiquette, the minister stressed. However, the introduction and formation of these new sociohumanitarian disciplines, important for the moral and esthetic education of servicemen, are proceeding extremely slowly.

In the opinion of Army Gen. P. Grachev, a whole set of problems is connected with the need to maintain the scientific-pedagogical potential of higher military schools. For many decades, for example, it has proved impossible to break the deadlock on the problem of recruiting academics for higher command schools. There are to all intents and purposes no doctors of sciences, and more than half of the chairs are headed by people without scientific or pedagogical qualifications. The

question of the professional pedagogic training of officers sent into educational work directly from the troops also needs resolving.

On the subject of improving the leadership of military education, the defense minister noted that these organs have now been restructured and amalgamated with cadre organs of branches of the Armed Forces and combat arms. This gives grounds to expect from them more flexible and efficient leadership and closer interaction in solving questions of training and the use of officer cadres. As well as strengthening the centralized scientific methodological leadership of military training establishments, it is necessary to continue the policy of extending the rights and raising the responsibility of military educational institutions themselves in the solution of specific questions of their life and activity.

Colonel General Valeriy Mironov, Russian Federation deputy defense minister, delivered a report on "The Basic Avenues for Improving the Training of Officer Cadres for the Russian Armed Forces and Ways of Implementing Them in the Course of Carrying Out Military Education Reforms." He stressed that 10 years had passed since the last all-Army conference of leaders of military educational institutions. This is not a long time in historical terms. But given the scale and character of the events that had unfolded in society in recent years, the conference was pivotal in the fate of both Russia and the Armed Forces.

It is possible to note with satisfaction, the speaker said, that within a short time the consequences of the disruption of the unified system of military education have largely been eliminated. The training of officers in many scarce specialties has been organized. Scientific schools which were lost are being replaced. The relocation of a number of military schools onto Russian territory is virtually complete. Military political training establishments have been converted. In 1992 the first cadres for the Russian Armed Forces graduated, and the first-year courses of military educational instituions recruited students on the whole successfully. In the sphere of military education, cooperation is being organized both with the states belonging to the CIS, and with countries of more distant foreign parts.

At the same time there exists an objective need for reforms in military education. For reforms, the speaker stressed, and not a repackaged facade or so-called further improvement that does not commit anyone to anything. What is this need dictated by?

The measures projected in 1987 to reconstruct higher and secondary education have not been realized in practice. In the Ministry of Defense too, everything basically boiled down to "patching up individual holes;" no fundamentally new system of military education was created. Along with the mighty military educational institutions there is a large group of higher command schools which, in quality of teaching and content of academic disciplines, have simply remained at secondary school level. As a result the level of training of students who have graduated from higher schools offering four-year courses does not correspond to the diploma issued, and the knowledge they have received satisfies neither the graduates themselves nor the troops.

Analysis of the work of military educational institutions as a whole, performance evaluations, and the results of state examinations show that many deficiencies in the training of graduates and omissions and imperfections in the activity of military educational institutions recur from year to year. These deficiencies, however, are in many ways determined by the imperfection of the very system of military education.

A change is required in the content of training as the decisive factor in the formation of the future military professional. By putting into action new training plans and programs in the last academic year, an attempt was made to strengthen the fundamental training of graduates and to develop the humanitarian component of military education. However, life does not stand still. We need to get down right away to developing a new generation of skill descriptions to constitute the basis of future training plans and programs. Their contents should correspond to statewide and international standards of education, and diplomas issued to graduates should have a high prestige and "convertibility," both in Russia and abroad.

The dynamism of the development of military science and the rapid changes in models of weapons and military technology require officers to continually increase their knowledge and practical skills in the process of their service. This, Col. Gen. V. Mironov said, puts one important question on the agenda—that of consistent transition to uninterrupted military education.

And finally, the last and most important of the reasons dictating the need for the reform of military schools. In line with the Law on Education adopted in Russia, higher schools are going over to a new multilevel structure of education. Naturally, radical transformations of the existing system of training officer cadres are also inevitable.

The proposed concept of military training reform, Col. Gen. V. Mironov said, contains only the basic strategic avenues of the work that lies ahead. These avenues are closely linked to the concept of the organizational development of the Russian Armed Forces. What are these avenues?

The first is the optimization of the network of military educational institutions, bringing their rolls and capacities into line with real officer cadre requirements based on the new structure and size of the Armed Forces. This crucial task involves not only significant material and financial expenditure. It is also necessary to have in mind that the fate of existing pedagogical collectives and the fate of thousands of officers directly depends on this task's being achieved.

Three approaches to resolving the given problem have been outlined. One manifests itself in a desire at any price to maintain every one of the existing military educational institutions, which in circumstances of the reduction of the Armed Forces and decreasing officer cadre requirements will inevitably lead to military educational institutions growing smaller and departments shrinking accordingly, weaken their scientific potential, and in the final analysis, take its toll in the reduction of the quality of graduates' training.

The second approach is expressed in the idea of immediately reducing the number of military educational institutions three- or fourfold by amalgamating them into large training centers for branches of the Armed Forces and service components. They would concentrate mainly on theoretical training, while practical training would be moved to field training centers with a capacity of more than 5,000 trainees. But the question arises: Is it within the power of our economy in the near future to sustain the organization of thousands of additional training places in some schools, and the closure of the same numbers in others?

In the speaker's opinion, the best approach today is the third—to carry out the reorganization and reduction of military educational institutions gradually, by rational and careful use of what the Russian Armed Forces have inherited. In the first phase the initial steps, aimed at converting and relocating a number of military educational institutions, have already been made. The training of officers in many scarce specialties has already been organized. In the second phase, through 1995, it would be correct to close unpromising military educational institutions whose disbandment would not require large capital investments to create or build on a similar base somewhere else. These military educational institutions have already been determined, and they recruited no students last year.

The main avenue for the optimization of the network of miltary-training establishments in the third phase (in 1996-2000) should be a policy of amalgamation and integrating military educational institutions. Only in this way can the increase of scientific-pedagogical potential, the concentration of capital investments, and the efficient use of the training and material base be ensured. Experience shows that the capacity of military schools, except for flying schools, should be not less than 1,200 to 1,500 students, and the capacity of academies not less than 750 to 800 students. Such a capacity would allow the formation of sufficiently strong scientific-pedagogical collectives ensuring a high quality of training for students.

The integration of military educational institutions, in Col. Gen. V. Mironov's opinion, could be carried out in the following ways. Education establishments of the same type, or of related types, situated in the same city could be merged. Smaller military educational institutions could be turned into faculties of kindred military or civilian higher educational establishments. The training of specialists with different levels of education could be combined in the same higher educational establishment. Undoubtedly, a conclusion on the expediency of amalgamating higher educational establishments should be made by a competent commission with the participation of all interested parties. Peremptory decisions here are inappropriate.

As for the second avenue of military educational reform, it characterizes the qualitative side of this reform and is designed to bring the training of students up to state and international standards. And here, how military schools fit into the new multilevel structure of higher education which has been introduced in Russia is especially important. After all, its main merit is that it takes away virtually nothing in the existing system of higher education, but only complements it. Its cornerstone still remains the existing system whereby qualified specialists are trained through five- or six-year courses.

Higher command-engineering and engineering schools and military institutes offering five-year courses entirely fit into the new multilevel structure, the speaker believes. These military educational institutions offer graduates training corresponding to third-level higher education, and the contents of the courses they offer basically meet the training requirements for qualified specialists.

At the same time there is a need to raise the status of leading military schools that possess a sufficiently high scientific-pedagogical potential and a modern training-scientific material base. For these purposes, it makes sense to reorganize them into the corresponding military institutes, that is to say, to focus them on training scientific-pedagogical cadres for military schools of branches of the Armed Forces or combat arms, and to organize, in coordination with the Committee for Higher Schools, the training there of masters of science.

The weakest link in military schools, Col. Gen. V. Mironov stressed again, are higher command and other schools offering four-year courses. The departments in these schools are few, and on average less than 25 percent of academics' places are filled. Formally, these schools train qualified specialists and offer also third-level education. But this is only formally; in substance and content the quality of education in them does not correspond to higher school requirements. From this stems an absolutely urgent task of reform—to eliminate the backwardness of higher schools with four-year courses, and to ensure the conditions for bringing them into the new structure of Russian higher education. For this it is deemed necessary to increase the length of the courses in them to five years, and to bring the training programs into line with higher school requirements for training qualified specialists.

On the subject of proposals to switch schools to training baccalaureate students while maintaining the four-year program, the speaker remarked that analysis shows that, if students are trained in technical fields, the baccalaureate leaves no time for general military, tactical, and

other types of military training essential for future commanders. If on the other hand, they are to be trained according to an all-inclusive [yedinaya] baccalaureate program of military science, they will be required to study a further one to three years after higher education in order to acquire the necessary professional training before they can be admitted into the troops. Thus the only realistic way of bringing command schools into the multilevel structure of Russian higher education is to increase the length of the course to five years. This decision has already been made with regard to Air Force flying and navigation schools.

The largest and most skilled link in the military education system are the military academies. Today every one of them is a major training and methodology and scientific center, with its own scientific schools and especially designed training and material base. More than 70 percent of doctors and 56 percent of candidates of science working in higher education establishments are concentrated in the academies. They train the leading military cadres and specialists in the sphere of the command and control of large-scale military collectives and the organization and comprehensive support of the activity of troops. Formally the academies do not increase the level of training that officers receive in schools. But they give them a fundamentally new managerial specialty, something that is essential in view of the new character and the scale of their service activity. The contents of course work in academies accord, for the most part, with the tasks of training specialists in the sphere of command and control. At the same time, since all schools are going over to five-year courses, it would perhaps be necessary to reduce the period of training in academies to two years.

The need to preserve the academies as training and methodological and scientific centers is not in question, the speaker stressed. It only remains to find ways of solving this problem, since in the near future it will be very acute. With the reduction in officer cadre requirements and in the length of courses, the number of students and teachers will be dramatically reduced. The existence of scientific schools and specialized councils will find itself under threat, as will the work of postgraduate and doctorate candidates. In these conditions it would be expedient to carry out a rational amalgamation of academies in each branch of the Armed Forces.

The third avenue of educational reform treated in the report is closely connected with all that has been said above. It is aimed at preserving and strengthening the scientific and pedagogic potential of military educational institutions. To improve the activity of postgraduate and doctorate candidates, a whole series of problems of a social, legal, and financial character will have to be resolved. These include determining the legal status of postgraduate and doctorate candidates and deciding questions of providing them with living space and other material comforts. It will also be necessary to achieve the task of stimulating the labor of scientific consultant-leaders and the postgraduate and doctorate candidates themselves.

The problem connected with training military pedagogues is also acute. Almost one-half of them go on to teaching work in military educational institutions from the troops, bypassing the postgraduate phase. The existing system of courses does not permit an officer to acquire within two to three months the necessary knowledge for independent pedagogical activity. To finish his education and develop as a pedagogue when he has already taken up his chair usually takes from three to five years. And yet, the speaker stressed, a military pedagogue is a profession, and therefore he should also be trained professionally.

Such training could be organized in specially created training groups in military academies. Officers from the troops could be accepted for training in them, or students who have shown an aptitude for teaching work could be transferred to them. In the initial phase, Col. Gen. V. Mironov believes, it is expedient to create such a group in one of the academies of the Ground Forces for training teachers of tactics and military-technical disciplines. As experience is accumulated there, it could be extended to other branches of the Armed Forces.

The fourth avenue of reform is the democratization of military education in line with principles of law relating to military educational institutions and ensuring efficient and scientific methodological leadership of the activity of military educational instiutions. The new structure of the leadership of military education is in the process of developing, and it would be premature to try to assess its efficiency. However, already today it is possible to talk of the need to improve this structure further, and to raise the level of leadership.

So far backwardness in the scientific methodological leadership of social and humanitarian disciplines has not been overcome. The centralized leadership of the training of foreign servicemen, and also reserve officers in military departments in civilian higher educational establishments, has weakened.

It is essential to determine clearly the sphere of duties and the responsibility of the newly created military educational institution organs of administration at all levels from top to bottom, the speaker said. The Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Main Directorate for Training and Placement of Cadres should concentrate its efforts on centralized scientific method leadership. Its main task is to ensure the implementation of the agreed policy in the sphere of military education and of unified approaches to, and requirements for, the training of students.

In addition, it is important to specify the functions of the military educational institution apparatuses of the main commissariats of combat arms. It is apparent that they should concentrate their main attention on forming a scientifically grounded order for training specialists and

on its material, technical, and financial support, Col-.Gen. V. Mironov said in conclusion.

Delivering the co-report to the conference, Col. Gen. Igor Rodionov, chief of the Russian Federation Armed Forces General Staff Military Academy, discussed problems connected with defining the role and status of the military educational institution which he heads in the system of military education, and put forward a number of proposals to improve it.

Also taking part in the discussion of the concept for the reform of military education were: Professor Vladimir Kinelev, chairman of the Committee for Russian Federation Higher School; Mikhail Vilchek, deputy chairman of the Committee for Science and Public Education; Academician Igor Fedorov, rector of the N.E. Bauman State Technical University; Col. Gen. Gennadiy Gichkin, Russian Federation Armed Forces chief of communications; Lt. Gen. Vladimir Kovalenok, chief of the Professor N.E. Zhukovskiy Air Engineering Academy, and other leaders of military-training establishments, and representatives of Russian Federation Ministry of Defense main and central directorates. Work was carried out in sections examining ways of applying the proposed reform concept to branches of the Armed Forces and combat arms. The proposals elaborated there were passed for examination to the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Main Directorate for Training and Placement of Cadres.

The concluding address at the conference was delivered by Andrey Kokoshin, Russian Federation first deputy defense minister.

Return of Arbitrary Military Censorship Seen

PM3112113392 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Dec 92 p 2

[Sergey Petrovskiy report: "Censorship Again..."]

[Text] It has been learned from reliable sources that a scandal occurred recently deep within the Russian military department. It was prompted by an article in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA.

Officers of the General Staff's so-called department for the protection of military secrets (the former military censor's office) deemed the article unacceptable for the open press, because it speaks of the prospects for creating a new large strategic troop formation—mobile forces. The editorial office disagreed with their arguments and published the article just the same. On that same day the newspaper's chief editor and the article's author found themselves "carpeted" by Colonel General Mikhail Kolesnikov, who was then still first deputy chief of the Russian Federation Armed Forces General Staff. Promises were made to dismiss both of them from their posts and to discharge them from the Armed Forces, and they were made to sign explanatory notes. An administrative inquiry into the article was set up.

Maybe internal arguments between a high military official and journalists of a subordinate publication would not be worthy of attention, but for one circumstance that is a matter of principle. According to a source, Gen. Kolesnikov declared that there was, is, and will be censorship, whatever new signboard it might hide behind, and all the mass media are obliged to fulfill its demands. Staffers of the department for the protection of military secrets have been ordered to step up control over newspaper articles on military topics. In addition, the ministry's officials have been instructed to end direct contacts with journalists and to make them only through the mediation of the departmental press service. This has at once been felt by representatives of many publications. Attempts to secure interviews or to obtain any information at the Defense Ministry have mainly proved fruitless in recent days.

In the hope of shedding some light on the situation, I contacted the military journalist, Oleg Vladykin, who has fallen into disfavor. But he too merely confirmed the fact of the thorough dressing down at the General Staff for disobeying the suddenly revived censorship and declined to make any comment on what had happened. Then I decided to read the article "Russia's Mobile Forces," which had provoked such a stormy reaction. What kind of secrets were revealed in it?

Alas, there were no revelations. Much of what this article contains has already been reported repeatedly by the defense minister at news conferences. Some of the additions about the makeup and structure of the mobile forces, which the author cited on the basis of a conversation with Col. Gen. Yevgeniy Podkolzin, commander of the Airborne Forces, concern very remote and—for our complex times—vague prospects. In addition, I recall that data of this kind cannot now, in principle, be either a military or any other secret.

The mobile forces, Army General Pavel Grachev maintains, will be based entirely in the European part of the country. In accordance with the Vienna document of the talks on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (1990), Russia, as the USSR's legal successor, must submit information on all the military units stationed on the territory from its western borders to the Urals to the CSCE participant states no later than 15 December each year. With a precise indication of their full names, the higher structures to which they are subordinate, their locations, their personnel strength, and the size of their authorized weapons systems. So to whom, then, does the General Staff consider such information closed?

The facts cited here prompt sad thoughts. For the time being the Defense Ministry is demanding explanatory notes only from journalists who are military officers in respect of articles it dislikes. But is this not the start of a process of stepping up control as a whole over the press, which tries to provide broad and objective coverage of how the army lives in our complex and critical time? It seems that someone would very much like, as in recent years, to make all journalists stand at attention before

military censorship. Under conditions when Russia still does not have a law on state and military secrets, the General Staff department aimed at protecting such secrets is able to interpret this concept at its own discretion. Or, if worse comes to worst, at the discretion of the ministry's chiefs. While ignoring, incidentally, the Law on the Mass Media, which already actually exists.

Central Bank Official on Currency Regulations

PM3112135992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with D. Tulin, deputy chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, by Ivan Zhagel; place, date not given: "Currency Regulation Rules Will Not Change in the New Year"]

[Text] [Zhagel] Dmitriy Vladislavovich, you are responsible for Central Bank currency policy. So can you confirm or deny the many rumors about a change in the rules for organizing the currency market in Russia in the New Year?

[Tulin] I do not foresee any fundamental changes in currency regulation rules at the start of 1993. For the time being the 100-percent sale of exporting enterprises' earnings, of which so much has been said in the press of late, will not take place.

The question of the advisability of introducing mechanisms for the sale of all currency earnings was discussed in fall 1992 at a joint session of the Russian Government and Central Bank. It was noted at the time that this switch is desirable, but it was described as a target that will have to be attained as the necessary prerequisites are created. And it is clear that the preparatory period will extend throughout 1993. The existing 50-percent sale of currency will be retained for the time being, 30 percent going to the Russian currency fund and the remaining 20 percent being compulsorily sold on the free market.

[Zhagel] Incidentally, the existing system of obligatory 50-percent sale of currency also has its shortcomings. Many enterprises are complaining of long delays in receiving the ruble equivalent.

[Tulin] This criticism of us is entirely fair. Our major exporters are suffering in particular. Moreover, failure to receive the ruble equivalent of sold currency in good time causes a chain of nonpayments throughout the national economy. And although these delays are due to the general inadequacy of the transaction mechanism in the country, I believe that we will solve the problem by the end of the first quarter of 1993.

[Zhagel] There has been much talk in the press to the effect that there will be a return to a multitude of currency rates and even to the closure of the currency exchange with the advent of a new Central Bank chairman, followed by a new premier.

[Tulin] There has been no discussion so far of any specific plans for a switch to a multitude of currency rates. I can tell you that for certain. Our aim at the moment is the technical, technological refinement of the currency mechanism. As for the currency exchange, it will certainly be retained, if only because it is an interbank organization. Incidentally, it will not only handle currency transactions, but will also sell short-term state bonds, which will appear in the very near future.

[Zhagel] And the Central Bank will continue to be geared to the currency exchange rate?

[Tulin] Yes. At any rate, no changes in this area are envisioned at the beginning of 1993.

[Zhagel] What can you tell me about the parallel circulation of the ruble and foreign currencies here? Will this situation remain the same?

[Tulin] This remains an open question. But I believe that in the next two months the Central Bank will establish new trade rules in conjunction with the government. Incidentally, the decisions of the last Congress of People's Deputies said that we must adopt measures before 1 March to halt the use of foreign currency on the territory of the Russian Federation as legal tender. And we will seek to implement this decision.

[Zhagel] We can adopt new rules, but we do not have effective currency control bodies.

[Tulin] A presidential edict was issued in December 1991 on creating a state currency control inspectorate. It was abolished in August without actually having started work. The new government structure allowed for the creation of a federal currency control agency, in which, as before, not a single person is working and which has not even been given any premises. This prevents us not only from combating the currency trade, but also from properly blocking the seepage of hard currency abroad. Even when information on the seepage of currency comes in, say, from customs, we do not have the means to carry out further operations to audit enterprises. I believe that 1993 will be devoted to the creation of effective currency control bodies.

Citizens Permitted To Buy, Sell Private Plots

PM3112134392 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 31 Dec 92 p 1

["Russian Federation Law on the Right of Russian Federation Citizens To Receive as Private Property and Sell Plots of Land for the Purposes of Personal Subsidiary and Dacha-Based Farming, Horticulture, and Individual Housing Construction" signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin, and dated Moscow, Russian House of Soviets, 23 December 1992]

[Text] Article 1. Plots of land for the purposes of personal subsidiary and dacha-based farming, horticulture, and individual housing construction, and also for

individual houses and farm buildings are transferred to the private ownership of citizens in cities, settlements, and rural localities in accordance with the land legislation of the Russian Federation and the republics within the Russian Federation and with the present law.

Citizens who have received plots of land as private property for the purposes indicated in the first section of Article 1 of the present law are herewith granted the right to sell them to other Russian Federation citizens irrespective of the date that the ownership right to the plot of land being sold was acquired, within the limits of the norms for granting plots of land.

The use by the owner of the plot of land he has acquired for some other purpose is not permitted unless otherwise prescribed by law.

At the time the present law comes into force, citizens who possess plots of land of a size exceeding the maximum norms in all cases retain the right to lifetime heritable possession or use of the part of the plot of land exceeding the established maximum norms. At the same time citizens are granted the right to acquire the given part of the plot of land as private property at an agreed price from the local soviet of people's deputies.

Article 2. The sale of plots of land for the purposes indicated in Article 1 of the present law is carried out independently by the owner by means of a contract with the buyer, or with the aid of the rayon (city) Committee for Land Resources and Land Use by holding a competition or auction according to the established procedure.

The purchase-and-sale contract (deed of purchase) for a plot of land must be certified by a notary and registered at the appropriate Committee for Land Resources and Land Use.

The form of the standard purchase-and-sale contract (deed of purchase) is to be established by the Russian Federation Committee for Land Resources and Land Use.

[Signed] Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin

Moscow, Russian House of Soviets, 28 December 1992

Kursk Nuclear Power Unit Closed; Radiation Normal

LD3112145192 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1346 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Report by ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Dec—One of the power-generating units of the Kursk nuclear power station has been switched off. Anatoliy Zemskov, a deputy director of the Rosenergoatom concern, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent today that unit No. 3 at the Kursk nuclear electric power station had been switched off at 1257 on 30 December, due to vapor appearing in the area of one of the turbo-generators. A. Zemskov emphasized that no breaches of limits or conditions for the safe maintenance of nuclear power stations had been recorded. On the international scale for incidents at nuclear installations, the one at the Kursk nuclear electric power station registers at zero, that is, the lowest level.

Radiation background in the area of the Kursk nuclear electric power station remains normal; no changes have been recorded.

Supreme Soviet

Khasbulatov Interview on Economic Reform, Media

LD3112203392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1500 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Interview with Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by Oleg Poptsov, head of the Russian TV and Radio Company, in Moscow on 31 December—live or recorded]

[Text] [Poptsov] Ruslan Imranovich, in accordance with tradition, we have gathered in this cosy room. The current year is coming to a close; we are on the threshold of a new year. I would like to begin our conversation by looking back on the year before last. Let us imagine 29, 30, and 31 December 1991; I believe you thought about the coming year then. In connection with this, to what extent has its reality corresponded with your guesses and forecasts; to what extent has it fulfilled your expectations? Has it disappointed you, has it brought you any surprises, or maybe it brought you some joy?

[Khasbulatov] Unfortunately, the past year gave me little cause for joy and really set me thinking. We linked this year really with very great economic and political reforms. We linked this year with the hope of strengthening the Commonwealth, both through the heads of state and governments and through interparliamentary ties. So unfortunately, there is a lot to be disappointed about, let us be frank, a lot.

The economic reform, the center, the central pivot of all our reforms has begun to be implemented according to the scenario of Latin American reforms. I think that Latin Americanization has taken place in the sphere of economic reforms this entire year. Moreover, it is in its Colombian version, when the state and administrative structures merge with mafia structures and, on the whole, the national wealth is being plundered, let us be frank.

I have for a long time been a firm supporter of developing the reform of the market. I have both written and spoken about this, and I hold the same standpoint now, that we must create a competition-based economy, a mixed-type economy in which every form of ownership—private, personal, state, or joint-stock—has its own niche, a clearly defined niche of its own.

Consequently, a competitive economy is the basis of a market economy. I think we have a great many things wrong in this respect. Instead of intensifying reform, instead of establishing a normal, competitive, mixed economy, we have created administrative mechanisms which, on the one hand, manipulate commodity producers more harshly than ever before and which prevent the honest manufacturer from producing an increasing quantity of goods.

On the other hand, they do not fully perform the state's regulatory role, which is needed to ensure that people operate within the framework of existing laws. Our entire legislative basis, created to establish legal foundations for market relations, has been left on one side, as it were. A separate set of principles adopted by the executive authorities have begun to operate in parallel.

Nothing—including decrees, orders, or decisions of the Government—can take the place of the law in society, however. Now we have a very complicated situation for the new government, when the economy is practically completely out of control. That of course—let us be frank—disappointed me tremendously. No matter what is said, the Gaydar government has not fulfilled its tasks. It can be assessed from various points of view. Personally, I always liked him, but he lost his head and he did not know what he was doing, in my opinion.

[Poptsov] Do you think any other government would have brought better results? Or is this state characteristic for any executive power in a crisis situation?

[Khasbulatov] In practice, I think any other government with at least some experience in managing so-called big economic systems, and any members of such a government who know perfectly well what it means to manage the economy, would not have allowed this worsening of the position of people. For example, the sitting of the Presidium finished recently. On the government's initiative we had to pass a joint resolution of the Presidium and the Supreme Soviet on regulating wages. What is under discussion here? Salaries, amounting to tens of thousands of rubles. I remember, a little more than a year ago, when my salary of 4,000 rubles was fixed, it was an enormous amount at the time, an enormous amount. Then it exploded.

Let us review the scene: we were assured, everybody swore that prices would jump by three to four times and no more. That is the central element. Why, assessing the government activity, does everyone forget it? The result was 10 times worse. Can you call it a mistake? That was a gross miscalculation.

I do not envy the Chernomyrdin government. He should be helped in every way possible. We in parliament are full of resolution to give him this help. I call on business circles, enterprises' managers, and citizens to understand the situation in which the new government has found itself. I am not an advocate of saying all the time that is the legacy of the last 70 years. In my view, this is just an attempt to avert one's own concrete responsibility. We know very well what happened over the past 70 years. It is necessary to review what condition the economy was in a year ago, and what condition it is in now.

[Poptsov] Ruslan Imranovich, I think it is no secret that conflicts between the branches of authority are an object of disquiet and concern for society and the structures of authority. This has become a permanent feature. We often talk about it; you yourself talk about the necessity for a balance between authorities. Are we getting lost here? Can there be balance between authorities?

[Khasbulatov] Although it is difficult, there can be a balance of authorities. I have already had to say, nevertheless, that any personality conflicts should not be over exaggerated. In general these conflicts have an objective character, to a certain degree, because the institution of the presidency here is very young, and parliamentarianism is inexperienced, and reforms and democracy—all this has to be acquired in far from ideal conditions. This is all on the one hand. On the other hand, when our agreements are constantly being broken, when actions are being taken aimed at damaging another authority, this causes these conflicts. There is no need to search for examples.

For example, take the latest decree on creating an additional ministry, the ministry of information, or the ministry of propaganda. Today we consulted in the presidium—the finance minister and chairman of the budget commission were there—and it was reported to us that no outlay, no expenditure on this structure is provided for in the expenditure for next year. All expenditures are financed only by the Supreme Soviet; we do not have any other body of authority which has the right to allocate the budget independently. Therefore, the question arises on what funds will this new center of information exist, and so on and so forth.

Therefore, this is again a matter of some kind of artificial conflict about some sort of nonexistent problems. Moreover, it is said that he is virtually first vice premier. Well, this is clumsy. If the president wants to make someone a vice premier, then a position with the corresponding name should be entered into the government structure. You are aware that we must consider the government structure at the parliament session. So, if it is not included in the structure, then we have no right to allocate any money to it, not even the Supreme Soviet. It is another matter that we finance the work of the presidential administration, of the administration as such, so the president can carry out his duty as a president.

This does not mean, however, that some sort of ministries, or some sort of parallel government should be built into it. This is simply absurd!

[Poptsov] Ruslan Imranovich, theoretically speaking, the legislative power should be extremely interested in a strong executive power.

[Khasbulatov] No doubt.

[Poptsov] Because, in the absence of a strong executive power, laws remain in limbo.

[Khasbulatov] Who is there to enact these laws?

[Poptsov] Then I have a question, to continue the first one. What is the matter? If the legislative power is interested in a strong executive power, why is it that this tissue of interrelations keeps being torn? Why is the legislature dissatisfied with our executive power? What is the machinery, what is the main reason for this conflict?

[Khasbulatov] The main reason is very simple, you know. You are right. In any normal state, and of course in a democratic state, the supreme representative power and legislative power should necessarily be interested in efficient and effective executive power. This is a certain thing, an axiom that cannot be disputed. Otherwise, who would enact all the laws, who would unite the territory into an entity known as a state? The fact is that in democratic states the executive power is always subordinate to the supreme representative power; subordinate and answerable to it.

Our executive power also ought to be under the control of and accountable to the legislative power. So, our aspiration is to release the executive power from control of the supreme legislative power. Here, one can look at the analogy coming from the time when the state used to fall under the control of the Politburo, the Central Committee, and so forth. Now there is an aspiration to release the executive power from the control of the supreme representative power. [sentence as heard]

This is the core of the conflict, but it will not take place. In accordance with the existing constitution we cannot let this happen.

[Poptsov] The alarming thing is that if we go back a little while and recollect the Silayev government.... [pauses] Let us be honest, there was no peace between the parliament and government at that time either.

[Khasbulatov] It does not normally exist; it should not, really. Some sort of arguments ought to be taking place all the time. The government ought to maintain its standpoints at the Supreme Soviet...

[Poptsov, interrupting] To defend them.

[Khasbulatov] Including its stands on the budget, to defend them. After all, do you recollect reading in our own newspapers on many occasions that the congress did not approve the budget, and that from a certain date employees of the federal government will stop receiving their salaries? Where does it come from? Sometimes arguments go on for several months. Why? Because the Ministry of Defense is maintaining one figure, the Ministry of Finance another, congressmen argue against both figures, and so forth. This course of things is absolutely normal.

However, no one, not even in the United States, is trying to release the administration—the government, in other words—from the control of the congress. This is the thing. Unfortunately, we have this autocratic tendency centered around individual personalities and not the Constitution.

[Poptsov] We are not likely to let go of Russian history; we have always been guided by individual personalities.

[Khasbulatov] We might not be likely to let go of it but we ought to be trying to abandon this method. As soon as we describe ourselves as a democratic society, as soon as certain circles and political movement describe themselves as democratic ones, they ought to proceed from democratic notions. The function of the constitutional court is to keep a close eye on this or that power, as it were, and in fact to interfere when this or that side is violating the rules.

[Poptsov] I have a question for you as an economist. What are your hopes in connection with the new composition of the government?

[Khasbulatov] In this regard, my hopes are fairly modest. At first it seemed, nonetheless, that the whole spirit of the congress had been imbued with the ideas of cooperation and compromise. But let us speak frankly. The supreme executive authority had, after all, literally dashed into the abyss, taking the whole of society with it. The fragile compromise that we achieved was directed at rescuing the executive authority itself; otherwise very grave and tragic consequences would have awaited us. In this sense, we were the first to stretch out our hand and—so to speak—calm the congress and society.

[Poptsov] One simply does not need a congress that ends in discord.

[Khasbulatov] That is so, of course. One does not need such a congress. On this occasion, however, the question was whether one needed a supreme executive power that has, to be blunt, been acting in such an unintelligent way and fashion. That is evident. It is hypocritical if I do not bluntly say so in reply to your question.

Even those secret ballots, on particular points and composition of the government, to some extent created a situation whereby the president was forced and obliged to take account of public opinion in the formation of the cabinet and in choosing the members of the government. It would have been more proper and more objective to hold consultations on forming a government on a wider basis rather than putting forward the same composition, the same used deck of cards. I am, of course, an optimist, but a cautious optimist, you could say. I would just like to give the assurance yet again that on the parliament's part, I will work to ensure full support for the activities of the government and the president which are directed at developing the reforms, putting them in good order, and softening them in the direction of greater attention to human needs and human problems.

Incidentally, there was talk of this in St. Petersburg at the Interparliamentary Assembly of the CIS countries. The parliamentary speakers and deputies were saying directly to us: Esteemed Russians, listen to us. You should be aware that all your discussions, debates, and actions become a pressing and topical matter for us. We cannot escape from Russia and its actions. Please do not forget that this applies even to a simple debate. We followed the work of the congress with sinking hearts. If some tragic events had occurred in your country, they said, it would have affected us.

[Poptsov] Ruslan Imranovich, when attending meetings of the Supreme Soviet presidium, I have noticed that in one way or other you have nevertheless been calling for the development of some sense of being a team. Surely the government too should have a sense of being a team.

[Khasbulatov] Of course it should. How could it be otherwise?

[Poptsov] I think all this talk of a government of multiethnic concord and a government of compromise is not very convincing. The government should be a government of professional concord.

[Khasbulatov] Look, I think that...

[Poptsov, interrupting] Or do you not agree?

[Khasbulatov] No, I think you look at things in a slightly different way. You can call it a team when this team has a huge sense of responsibility toward its fellow citizens for its work. These days it has become a normal thing for coalition governments to be set up in other parts of the world. As a rule, democratic countries have multiparty systems.

[Poptsov] Yes.

[Khasbulatov] There are no countries—except, say, Saudi Arabia or some other countries—where there are no parties. Parties are still in their infancy in our country. Therefore, we must expand the range of consultation as much as possible and establish responsible governments—not simply Khasbulatov's team—for the sake of argument. As you know, he has already seen what happens. Somebody ventures to set himself up as a team, somebody's team. We have these teams; everybody goes on about them. I think this concept is already an obsolete one. It has not worked.

Let me give you just one example. Throughout the entire year the Gaydar team did not present us with a single—imagine this—a single well-drafted law that would have advanced the cause of economic reform. Most of the laws we eventually adopted during the year—after they had been improved—were actually reworked by committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet. Well, as I have always said: Give us a law, give us your laws. You keep on saying you have a program. Alright, we approved it; endorsed it. Now give us your legislative basis. If you want to implement these reforms, give us laws we can adopt. But we did not receive such laws.

Therefore, I think this word team is a compromised one. Instead of forming teams of like-minded thinkers, the thing to do is to seek talented people who understand economics, who understand reform, who understand a mixed economy, who understand the market, who understand competition—people capable of upholding the national interest.

[Poptsov] Ruslan Imranovich, I do not think our conversations with each other have ever avoided one subject which, I think, is extremely close to your heart; one of your favorite topics. This is the subject of the mass media. Let us take a realistic look at the situation. There is always some kind of conflict underlying relations between the arms of power. This means the mass media, in attempting to reflect the situation, find themselves in a situation where they have to adopt one position or the other; to support one arm or the other. Suppose you were the head of television or radio.

Now honestly, what do you think? Which came first—this condition or the behavior of the media? How would you act in this situation, with this conflict atmosphere always present?

[Khasbulatov] Very simply. I would keep saying—I would instruct, if I can put it like that: For God's sake, my esteemed colleagues, tell the truth! Do not engage in creating stories! That is all!

[Poptsov] Life is made so what seems true to one person does not seem so to another.

[Khasbulatov] Alright, then I will put it this way. Suppose you are a commentator, alright?

[Poptsov] Suppose I am.

[Khasbulatov] There is the president and chairman of the Supreme Soviet. Supposing the chairman of the Supreme Soviet is chairing a session and has said something, and you, a commentator, say: As for the Supreme Soviet chairman, he hastened to say such and such a thing. How can you know if he has hastened or not and why he did so? Why do you take the liberty of saying he hastened? How can you know why he said this? Can you make such an a priori comment, that he hastened to say something or other?!

[Poptsov] I think, Ruslan Imranovich...

[Khasbulatov, interrupting] No, let us stick to this concrete case.

[Poptsov] No, let me tell you a journalist perceives the situation summarily. I must tell you that if you make conjectures in the process of your analysis, it is only natural to a creative person—he should be as precise as possible when making those conjectures. I fully agree with you in this, but you do not really want to have an automaton in the person of a journalist, which would simply transmit all texts word for word?

[Khasbulatov] Oh no, no. You are welcome to comment, but you must say precisely that the Supreme Soviet chairman or the president have said this or that. Why do you think it necessary and permissible...

[Poptsov, interrupting] I do not think it necessary.

[Khasbulatov] Well then, I am giving you an example. You know I do not watch television often because I leave home early and get back late and I have enough on my hands anyway. However, I remembered just this phrase and I thought: Why did he decide the Supreme Soviet chairman hastened? Millions of viewers are listening to this, and it filters into their minds that he hastened, because they have not actually heard what the Supreme Soviet chairman said. They listen to the commentators. I tell you that I am more a supporter of freedom than anybody. I myself lived through all these ways since childhood, and I remember when we did not have the right to leave one area for another to buy bread. I know the value of freedom, including the value of the press, when I wrote dozens of articles for the bin. I was unable to get these articles printed. I know this. But I am against lies; against setting some people against others.

At that same inter-parliamentary assembly in St. Petersburg my colleagues, heads of parliaments, raised the question they have been raising for a long time: Let us take Ostankino under the control of the inter-parliamentary assembly. We will finance it in equal shares. But we are not indifferent to the pollution of our information area, they say. That is what they are saying. Because millions of people turn on the first television program in all countries—Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzia—all of them watch it and listen to it.

In this sense I believe it is a productive idea. That is it is necessary to be very careful with speech. If we are propagandizing something, then we also need to know what we are propagandizing; whether we are propagandizing a new monarchy or a democratic society.

[Poptsov] By broadcasting parliament we are propagandizing parliament; by broadcasting the congress, we are propagandizing the congress. But you have just touched on the issue of the assembly. In general the idea of the assembly is genuinely productive, and a politically rich idea. Evidently, it supposes that it adds to the contact that occurs constantly in the CIS countries between the presidents. Tell me please, Ruslan Imranovich, taking into account that somewhere there is always an incidence of confrontation between the authorities, are you not concerned that a tendency may arise in the assembly toward opposing the assembly to the actions of the presidential corpus, if I can put it like that? Could this not happen?

[Khasbulatov] No, this cannot happen. On the contrary we have talked about this, and now, on the contrary, we consider the role of the parliamentary assembly must consist of strengthening cooperation and strengthening the basis of treaties between heads of state and government in the Commonwealth. For example, we listened with great interest to information from Ivan Mikhailovich Korotchenya, the Belarus representative, who is dealing with questions concerning the preparations for the CIS charter. This charter should be signed by heads of state and government of the CIS. When parliament members familiarize themselves preliminarily, when they are more broadly informed, then their suspicion ends. After all, there exists a certain suspicion in every country that heads of state and government are supposedly signing some sort of treaties in secret, without wide publicity. Of course that is not the case.

But the parliamentary assembly can be leaned on by heads of state and government, so that even complex questions, when tackling complex questions, they could say: Listen, let us hand them over to the assembly; let us hear what their opinion is. In that sense, it is a very successful form that gives broader scope for the development of links between our countries, very successful. I think all these heads of state and government who would like to be economically more integrated and to take more account of one another's interests, naturally on a voluntary and independent basis, only welcome this assembly.

[Poptsov] Let us imagine you are visiting a home, a family. What would you say to that family, especially since yesterday, I think, there were some reports of the latest sociological research in which one man, asked who is the man of the century, answered very precisely: I am the man of the century. Asked why, he replied: I have survived. So I want to ask you: Finding yourself in this home, what would you say to the family?

[Khasbulatov] It is difficult even to imagine right now, but what might I say? Of course I say that I too want first of all to appeal somehow to the people's soul and reason, so that somehow they show more patience and hope, eventually. Of course I am very distressed by this bitterness among large groups of the population—the loss of hope, the loss of faith in the future.

It seems to me this is a very dangerous state. That is why we should do a lot to revive this faith. In this sense, perhaps, it is worth repeating: I do hope very much that the new government will give some hope to our society and people will appear there who will give us more confidence that the reforms are in capable hands. As for myself, I can say the following: Recently, after a meeting with the president, on my way home I asked to call in a microrayon. So we walked around there. We called in one apartment, then another. When we knocked, people did not believe it was me. An impromptu conversation took place.

I ask them to wait and be patient. I know it is difficult. I know it is hard. But we are trying to do our utmost. The president is doing his utmost. The parliament is doing its utmost. And the government will also make an effort. A lot of mistakes have been made, but we will try to improve. The parliament's policy is obvious. It takes people's interests into consideration to a larger degree.

This is not populism. Populism is when people with authority say that all of you will become owners. This is the most ignorant populism. Take American society, for example. Do you know that 85 or 87 percent of the American citizens are not owners? What does ownership mean in modern Western countries? First of all, it means you own your house. At best, you also have a small country house, a car, a small bank account. And that is all. We have imagined that everyone is to become a factory owner. But who is going to work then? And why should these false catchwords be allowed to mislead society?

[Poptsov] I think, Ruslan Imranovich, we want our people to have the means to buy all the things that property owners in the United States have.

[Khasbulatov] But those are property owners! And all the rest—three-quarters or four-fifths of the population—earn their living by very hard, intensive work. It is true, such work makes it possible for them to enjoy a good rest, provide good education for their children, or spend a holiday in a more or less decent way. But any illusions should not be sown in society that one fine day everybody will become an owner of the KAMAZ or VAZ factories, and so on. They will not become owners! They cannot become owners! It is another matter to stimulate labor in such a way that if you work well, you earn well. We have forgotten the value of labor—the value of labor! This means forgetting human beings amidst all the false ideas, false catchwords, and false slogans. It is impossible to work in this way. People must be able to think in terms of the state; there must be a state-level approach, after all.

[Poptsov] Ruslan Imranovich, I am going to ask you a question that I think is not quite ordinary. I believe your strain is really huge; it could be seen at the congress, and before it at the sessions. Suffice it to say that you chair practically all sessions yourself; you probably have outbursts caused by fatigue when you feel like saying: I have had enough of this, I cannot take any more. At moments like those, how do you regain your strength and what do you say to yourself at such moments, apart from such outbursts?

[Khasbulatov] I said something once at the congress; it was really a revolt against injustice, that is all. Otherwise one has to be patient because one is aware that this task and this job cannot be done by anyone but yourself at this stage. That is the problem.

[Poptsov] Very well then. I would like to wish you a happy New Year. I know you are going to make a long trip. They say in the Eastern calendar this will be a Year of the Rooster. I would like to send my good wishes to your family, also to wish you success in all your plans. And to us all, that we do not make one mistake in this Year of the Rooster; that we do not spend the year crowing away in vain!

[Khasbulatov] Yes, that is quite right. Using your words, I would also like to thank our fellow citizens for their great patience, for their great wisdom, and for the support that I personally feel; this enormous support from our citizens. I think that all our channels of communication are snowed under with letters, and 99 percent of them support the activities. Incidentally, support of the Supreme Soviet and the congress has grown very substantially, regardless, once again, of what the various so-called sociological services print.

Of course, I wish you a happy New Year. Let the new year bring peace, accord, and cordiality to our families so that we may think more of each other and support each other. As for us, we will try to do our utmost to improve the position of people. Thank you.

[Poptsov] I have not forgotten to wish you one more thing—to love the media.

[Khasbulatov] Oh, I love it. Simply, I seem to be different in that I am not afraid of the media and usually say what I think it necessary to say. Not what I think, as sometimes they say about me, but what I think it necessary to say.

[Poptsov] Thank you.

[Khasbulatov] On the whole, my attitude toward the media is one of love and respect.

[Poptsov] Thank you.

Foreign Policy 'Pro-Americanism' 'Extreme' Criticized

OW3112151192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1454 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Igor Porshnev, and Dimitriy Voskoboynikov; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A number of agreements not only on limiting, but also on reducing strategic weapons in real terms, signed with the USA, can be described as an indubitable success of Russian diplomacy scored in 1992, said Evgeniy Ambartsumov, chairman of the parliamentary committee on international affairs and foreign trade, in an interview with DP [Diplomatic Panorama].

The prompt succession to the status of the former USSR at the U.N. was also an asset in Russia's foreign policy, he said. According to the MP, if Russia's Foreign Ministry had procrastinated in solving this issue, other former Soviet republics might have begun to dispute Russia's right to succession.

With reference to failures in Russia's foreign policy, E. Ambartsumov said that, in his view, they "were due to the course of hesitation; when we rushed from one extreme—ideologized diplomacy, to another—pro-Americanism."

"Support for sanctions against Serbia and the premature recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina" were undoubtedly failures on the part of Russia's Foreign Ministry.

E. Ambartsumov believes that another serious blunder was made when "Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze and the former State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis, who was in charge of the Foreign Ministry, groundlessly reassured Japan that not only 2, but 4 islands in the Kuril chain will be transferred to it."

The leader of the parliamentary committee on foreign policy criticized the Foreign Ministry for what he described as "a sharp change in its attitude to that issue made under public pressure, which was impolite toward Japan."

The contacts Russia began to establish with South Korea are a positive factor, the deputy stressed, but they will not be able to adequately replace relations with Japan, which have to be developed anew. According to him, contacts with Japan could have been much more successful, if Russia had refrained from stepping up the endeavors to resolve the problem of Northern territories, and pointed to the need to set up free economic zones in the area from the beginning.

E. Ambartsumov also qualified as a fault the fact that "as of this autumn, the top Foreign Ministry official obviously began to confuse the external policy with internal, and his statement in Stockholm serves as an example of this." According to the MP, he sees no positive results in Russia's diplomacy as far as the newly foreign countries, that is former Soviet republics, are concerned.

Regional Affairs

General Warns of 'Possible Disintegration of Russia'

LD0301220393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 3 Jan 93

[from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The situation in the zone of the state of emergency on the territory of North Ossetia and Ingushetia remained unchanged on 3 January. Lieutenant General Kotenkov, the head of the interim administration, spoke today of a state of permanent tension. Internal feuds and the struggle for power among clans are seriously hampering the settlement process, the general believes, and he gives a serious warning: It is time to realize, he says, that what is happening here is not just some political intrigues, but the beginning of the possible disintegration of Russia. This is how the RIA agency quotes the general today.

Chechen President Disavows Vice President's Negotiations

LD0201025393 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0100 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] A statement by the president and parliament has been circulated in Chechnya, EKSPRES-KHRONIKA reports. In this statement, they refused to acknowledge the results of Chechen Vice President Mamodayev's Moscow talks in December last year. EXPRESS-KHRONIKA reports that according to the statement nobody instructed Mamodayev to conduct such negotiations because Chechnya's stance is unequivocal—it wants complete sovereignty and independence from Russia.

Shaymiyev Assails 'Ill-Considered' Economic Policy

OW0101152693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1351 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his New Year message, Mintimer Shaymiyev, President of Tatarstan, said, "a difficult economic situation has taken shape everywhere." Production and the living standards have on average been falling in Russia, which has affected the welfare of Tatarstan's population as well.

In the President's view, the "shock therapy" program has proved a failure and has been a heavy burden on the people's shoulders.

The Tatar government, he said, has been taking great pains to "mitigate the blows of what has in many ways been an ill-considered policy of transition to market economics, and to some extent we have managed to do this." According to Shaymiyev, Tatarstan's program of "mildly entering a market economy" has proved more realistic and has been well received by the population. "Reality is the best judge, and today the economic situation in Tatarstan is more favorable than that in many other parts of Russia," he said.

Among the 1993 priorities, he listed support for the agro-industrial complex, concrete social security measures, conversion of the military industrial complex to civilian production, and privatization.

Commenting on Tatarstan's relations with the Russian Federation, he expressed regret over the fact that, "due to the political situation in Russia, the signing of a bilateral treaty was postponed." However, work on the treaty will be finished soon after all vacancies in the Viktor Chernomyrdin cabinet have been filled, Shaymiyev said.

Grachev Visits Kaliningrad Oblast's Baltiysk Naval Base

PM0401111193 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Report by Stanislav Chekalin and Vitaliy Belousov from Kaliningrad; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Chekalin] Russian Defense Minister Army General Grachev arrived in the Northwestern Group of Forces today, where a large number of problems have accumulated in connection with the withdrawal of the army and the Baltic Fleet from the Baltic countries now under way. The visit began at the Baltiysk Naval Base, where most of the fleet to be withdrawn from the ports of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia is to be stationed in the near future. This is no easy task. But it seems that the leadership of Kaliningrad Oblast and the fleet's command have found a way to resolve it in the Selma-Baltic Fleet project. Under this project the fleet will sell Lithuania part of its property, and in return the Lithuanian Selma construction company will build 2,500 apartments for officers in Kaliningrad.

A meeting between Gen. Grachev and the officer's assembly took place in Kaliningrad in the evening.

Regional Leaders Review 1992

MK0401100293 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 92 p 3

[Radik Batyrshin feature under "Russian Federation" rubric comprising undated New Year statements by Farid Mukhametshin, Tatarstan Supreme Soviet chairman; Murtaz Rakhimov, Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet chairman; and Eduard Kubarev, chairman of the Chuvash Supreme Soviet Presidium: "Kazan and Ufa Against April Referendum. Cheboksary in Favor"]

[Text] Farid Mukhametshin, chairman of the Republic of Tatarstan Supreme Soviet:

It is hard to be satisfied with the past year's results—I would have liked more. Although it was a hectic year for Tatarstan, which chose its new path of reformed relations with the Russian Federation: A new republic Constitution was adopted, a referendum on raising the Republic of Tatarstan's state status was held, and the first Congress of Peoples of Tatarstan and the World Congress of Tatars were held successfully. This year will therefore occupy a worthy place in the republic's history. But there was much we were unable to do to make life easier for our multiethnic people.

I hope that the reforms that were started this year in the Republic of Tatarstan will be continued in 1993. I would like us to start reaping the fruits of the economy's stabilization as early as next year. Despite Tatarstan's enormous desire to sign the treaty on the mutual delegation of powers with Russia this year, we did not succeed in doing this. It is not our fault but that of the Russian side. Although in January a number of consultations are planned with the Russian leadership on continuing the talks process, I think that the switch of Yuriy Yarov, deputy leader of the Russian delegation, to the post of Russian Federation vice premier could speed up the signing of a treaty (the leader was Gennadiy Burbulis—NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA). Viktor Chernomyrdin's intentions not to change the policy of reforms give us certain hopes. We will not enter into an economic union of ex-autonomous entities, the idea of which has emerged recently, before a treaty with Russia has been signed. After relations with it have been settled, in order to stabilize the economic situation in our region we can also think about the idea of an association of republics. Although even now we are closely cooperating on a bilateral basis with Bashkortostan, Mari-El, Mordovia, the Republic of Sakha, Chuvashia, and others.

But if a treaty between Russia and Tatarstan is not signed, I am afraid that our republic will not take part in the April all-Russian referendum. The Russian side's endless delay in signing the treaty will force us to do this.

Next year we propose to double foreign oil sales. There is no reason to think that Russia will become poorer because of this. Because the increase in our budget receipts will help to reduce Russia's investment in Tatarstan's military-industrial complex enterprises.

Murtaz Rakhimov, chairman of the Republic of Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet:

It seems to me that nobody can be satisfied with the past year's results—how can one be satisfied when the economy has collapsed. The only consolation is that we were able to maintain political and economic stability in the republic. We succeeded in signing the Federation Treaty and the supplement to it from the Republic of Tatarstan. Although the mechanism for implementing it has simply not been elaborated. The instability of the situation in Russia and old thinking like "don't get too big for your boots" prevented us from signing the treaty between Russian and Bashkortostan this year. Although at the end of his term Yegor Gaydar reached the conclusion that more rights must be given to the regions, not just to the republics. I think that the new Russian Cabinet of Ministers will reach the same conclusion. An agreement must be signed as soon as possible, and then there will be no disputes or claims. But the problem is that, even when we had accord at the level of Boris Yeltsin and Yegor Gaydar, it was sabotaged by its executors. It often happened that some official sent a cable to Ufa contradicting the president's decision. An inconceivable legal shambles!

My attitude toward the 1993 all-Russian referendum is a negative one, because a Constitution is not adopted by referendum. Nationwide discussion is a different matter. We are told that we must build the new Bashkortostan Constitution within the framework of the Russian Constitution. Why must the people be dictated to as to how

they should live? Where is the freedom? Therefore we will think about whether to hold a referendum on Bashkortostan's territory.

Furthermore, Yegor Gaydar's government granted us the right to autonomously determine the volume of oil products sold abroad. I think that the new government will be the old one's successor. If not, we will be compelled to adopt retaliatory sanctions against the Center. Therefore we must sit around the table and agree on everything.

In the new year we propose to discuss among heads of republics the idea of an economic union of former Russian autonomous entities, except the Caucasian ones. We simply have to stabilize horizontal ties. In the past year Bashkortostan has signed a total of around 80 agreements with most regions of Russia and the CIS, for example with Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine. Next year we propose to conclude a treaty with Kazakhstan to enable us to carve out a "window" into Asia. The capacity of the railroad linking Russia and China is not very great. Bashkortostan can extend its ties with China through Kazakhstan. I am particularly drawn to the Cossack people, who are close to Bashkirs even in terms of their eyes and love of koumiss. Our plans include the signing of treaties with Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

I expect that 1993 will bring stabilization to the country's economy. And I hope that your newspaper maintains its quality—independence.

Eduard Kubarev, chairman of the Chuvash Supreme Soviet Presidium:

I am satisfied with the past year's results because we did not allow our economy to collapse. Although there was a 21-percent decline in production in the republic, that is better than throughout Russia as a whole. By the end of this year Chuvashia had managed to halt the production slump, and growth in consumer goods output is even being observed. Thus 1992 cannot be considered wasted. But its results should not be overestimated. We must learn to live in conditions of struggle between various political forces. We were able to avoid the rash decisions that were foisted on us by various radical currents in Chuvashia. After the Federation Treaty was signed we formed good, businesslike, and respectful relations with the Center. The Russian Federation president's edict "On Supporting the Chuvash Republic's Socioeconomic Development" was adopted. True, Russian departments have not got out of the habit of ordering territories about as though they were their own fiefdoms. This is being actively exploited by those forces in the republic that want to cut themselves off from Russia. We favor pursuing the autonomous economic line of a subject of the Federation Treaty within the framework of a political union. Although we have acquired a good opportunity to coordinate our actions through the Council of Heads of Republics, and it is useful for the president to be aware of the republics' opinion on the strategy and tactics of the reforms. Chuvashia is now a member of the "Greater Volga" association, which unites 12 of the region's republics and oblasts from Nizhniy Novgorod to Astrakhan. As regards the idea of a union of former autonomous entities, Chuvashia's economy depends far less on the republics than other Russian territories.

International Affairs

Kravchuk on Membership in CIS, Ties With Russia

OW3112165592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Report by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "Ukraine is making efforts to ensure that the CIS correspond to the status, documented in the Minsk and Alma-Ata agreements, and to prevent it from evolving into a state entity," President Kravchuk said on Wednesday [30 December] during his visit to the new Ukrainian radio and TV center. He explained that his personal criticism of the CIS should not be understood as Ukraine's plan to secede from the CIS.

Kravchuk believes that the draft charter of the CIS goes against Ukraine's orientation to independence, documented in the August Act of 1991 and confirmed by the All-Ukrainian referendum on December 1, 1991. However, he does not rule out the possibility of holding a national referendum on the CIS Charter. "If the people of Ukraine depart from the course of independence, the president will either change his point of view and heed the voice of the people, or resign," said Leonid Kravchuk.

He criticized the parliament for adopting a law, according to which the candidacies of the president's regional and district representatives must be coordinated with the local councils. Having noted that such a law does not specify the procedure of such coordination, he proposed that the parliament amend it.

Kravchuk does not accept accusations that Ukraine is reluctant to broaden relations with Russia. He said that Ukraine was the initiator of all of the meetings between the Ukrainian and Russian presidents, including the Moscow talks which were expected to be held in December.

"Of course, Russia is an elephant which can crush Ukraine," he said. "But Russia should keep in mind that Ukraine is not a pug dog," he remarked.

Kravchuk believes that the Russian media give somewhat biased coverage of the events in Ukraine. He also noted that Ukraine might have made a mistake by limiting the single information system. "Today, everyone needs maximum information and openness," he said.

He also pointed out that at the official level the question of terminating broadcasts from the Ostankino company was not raised, but added, with reference to Switzerland's experience, that in Ukraine TV programs should be broadcast in all languages spoken by the ethnic groups populating this republic. He also criticized some of the Ukrainian journalists for over-emphasizing the negative aspects of life.

Kravchuk's press secretary Vladimir Shlyaposhnikov informed INTERFAX on Monday, that on January 4 Kravchuk will meet with the chairmen of the parties, trade unions, and public organizations and movements to reveal the attitude of broad sections of the population to the draft charter of the CIS. The meeting will be attended by about a thousand participants. Ukrainian and foreign journalists will be invited.

Democratic Party Chairman on START II Issues

LD0301195393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] Ukraine should hurry but not rush into the realization of its non-nuclear status. This was declared by Volodymyr Yavorivskyy, chairman of the Democratic Party of Ukraine on 2 January. This was how he responded to the signing of START II between Russia and the United States. Yavorivskyy noted that Ukraine's actual dependence is on the former Soviet nuclear arsenal. Therefore, if this dependence is lost Ukraine must be given security guarantees by nuclear states, Volodymyr Yavorivskyy stressed.

Sanctions Considered Against Serbia, Chernogoria

OW3112170692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1641 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Political consultations with the participation of the diplomatic representatives of the states-permanent members of the UN Security Council accredited to Kiev and the member countries of the Danube commission on usage of sanctions towards Serbia and Chernogoria and concerning the present state of shipgoing on the Danube were organized in the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry.

Ukraine declared that it adheres the resolutions of the UN Security Council, in particular, on the shipment of the cargoes on the vessels belonging to the Ukrainian steamship lines on the Danube. Simultaneously the attention of the participants was drawn to the necessity of political and organizational-technical measures to ensure normal conditions for shipgoing and transportation of cargoes along the Danube in such cases when this does not contradict to the resolutions of the UN Security Council.

The Ukrainian party pointed out that the customs and border examinations connected with the regime of the sanctions towards Serbia and Chernogoria, the absence of a sufficient technical base for checking operations lead to long demurrages of the ships and inflict a sufficient economic damage to many countries including Ukraine.

Officers Want Missiles Removed From Moscow Control

LD0301200693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] The Kiev organization of the Union of Officers of Ukraine has proposed to immediately remove strategic missiles located on the territory of Ukraine from the central management system in Moscow. Members of the officers' association believe instability in Russia threatens its neighbors with unpleasantness. It is theoretically possible for the Ukraine president to block the missile launch system, but the creation of technical means for this demands much time and many millions in expenditures. In the opinion of the Kiev officers, Ukraine cannot waste time or money on this. They also propose to immediately begin removing missiles produced at Ukrainian plants from the order of battle and preparing them for destruction.

Government Refuses To Transfer Debt to Russia

LD3112200992 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1748 GMT 31 Dec 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov for TASS]

[Text] Kiev December 31 TASS—Ukraine refused to transfer its part of the Soviet foreign debt and assets to Russia, a spokesman of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry said at a briefing on Thursday [31 December] referring to a corresponding governmental decision.

In a note to the Russian Foreign Ministry sent on Thursday the Ukrainian ministry said that it was not the Ukrainian fault that an interstate agreement on the question was not signed before the new year as envisaged by a protocol on transferring the Ukrainian part of the Soviet external debt and assets to Russia signed by the governments of both countries.

However, Ukraine is ready for talks with Russia on a just solution of issues related to the sharing of the former Soviet debt and assets, according to the note.

The briefing was also told that the Ukrainian government eased the exit rules for its citizens. Ordinary passports can now be used for foreign travel and no exit visas are required.

All ordinary passports issued before January 1, 1993 are to be registered at police stations at the place of permanent residence.

Those passports which contain an exit visa are valid without registration.

Exit visa duties are cancelled beginning from the New Year.

Russian Enterprises Owe 350 Billion Rubles

LD0301124693 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in English 0100 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] According to the data of National Bank of Ukraine, the debts of Russian enterprises to Ukrainian State make more than 350 billion rubles. These are debts for goods and services. Experts believe that solving of such a complicated problem is possible, first of all, through creating a legal basis for corresponding court systems.

Border, Custom Control Established With Russia, Belarus

OW3112165792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1641 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursday [31 December] the press service of the Ukrainian frontier forces reported that in accordance with the order of President Leonid Kravchuk and the resolutions of the cabinet of ministers beginning January 1 the Ukrainian frontier forces will start to exert a border-customs control on the border with Belarus and Russia. Six detachments of the frontier control will be formed for this purpose and a net of border-customs posts will be established on the communication lines.

Colonel General Valeriy Gubenko, the commander of the Ukrainian frontier forces, underlined that Ukraine does not intend to make a bar of barbed wire from the neighbors. The citizens of the neighbor states will be permitted to pass the border without any visas having certain documents testifying to their personality or citizenship.

Kiev believes that the border customs control on the border with Russia and Belarus will help to solve many problems, stabilize the social-political situation, and will secure the economic interests of Ukraine.

Further on Customs Control

LD0101062893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0200 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] Starting 1 January, the Ukrainian president's order on the organization of border and customs control on the border with Russia comes into effect. In connection with this, customs posts are being established in Donetsk oblast. Now all goods must have a declaration and be checked on the border. The flow of freight liable to checking will increase 20-30 fold on the border with Russia.

Christian-Democratic Leader Urges Joining NATO

OW0201145793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the influential in Ukraine Christian-Democratic Party Vitaliy Zhuravskiy has spoken out for his republic joining NATO. In an interview with the Ukrainian NOVOSTI news agency he urged for this to demonopolize the economy and privatize state property, also to elect parliament on a multi-party basis and to introduce stringent control over the armed forces.

V. Zhuravskiy expressed regret that last year the Ukrainian government hadn't done more in the fields of small and large-scale privatization, land reform, and the introduction of national currency.

President Kravchuk Receives Polish Foreign Minister

AU3112103792 Warsaw PAP in English 2304 GMT 30 Dec 92

[Text] Kiev, Dec. 30—Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, on a two-day working visit to Kiev, was received by Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk on Wednesday.

President Kravchuk stressed the importance of Polish-Ukrainian relations at the head-of-state level and stated that the proposal of such permanent contacts, put forward by President Lech Walesa, would contribute to closer cooperation between the two countries.

The talks focused not only on bilateral relations but also on relations with Poland and Ukraine's neighbours and concerned problems of the two countries' political strategy. Minister Skubiszewski was also interested in the development of the Commonwealth of Independent States and was offered the Ukrainian opinion on this matter.

Also on Wednesday, Skubiszewski was received by Ukrainian prime minister Leonid Kuchma. The two politicians emphasized that after a period of building Polish-Ukrainian political relations it is time to develop mutual economic relations. They expected that economic affairs would dominate the Polish prime minister's visit to Ukraine planned for January. Skubiszewski proposed to base future Polish economic relations on private capital.

Prime Minister Kuchma briefed the Polish foreign minister on Ukraine's stand on the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Skubiszewski also met with the leader of the People's Movement of Ukraine. The talks focused on the situation of the Ukrainian and Polish minorities in the two countries.

During the meeting with journalists, after his return from Kiev, Skubiszewski said that Ukraine is an important partner for Poland and that Polish-Ukrainian cooperation is decisive for the two countries' security. The foreign minister revealed that talks had been launched on a Polish-Ukrainian agreement on readmission and that he had proposed Ukraine's participation in works of regional organizations, of which Poland is a member state.

Yukhnovskyy, Uzbek Minister Discuss Economic Cooperation

WS3112133192 Kiev KHRESHCHATYK in Ukrainian 3 Dec 92 p 4

[Report by Serhiy Balykov: "Together We Stand"]

[Text] Ukrainian Vice Prime Minister Ihor Yukhnovskyy and his Uzbek counterpart, Anatoliy Voznenko, described the economic situation in their countries as extremely difficult. At the meeting held on 1 December, they agreed to mutually extend assistance in solving a number of urgent economic problems.

In Ukraine, many textile factories have found themselves on the verge of bankruptcy due to insufficient raw cotton supplies. Their closure threatens a social explosion. According to a bilateral agreement, Uzbekistan is to ship 72,000 tons of cotton to Ukraine. Although about the same amount of cotton was lost right on the plantations, Uzbek representatives have assured Ukraine that they are fully prepared to meet their commitments. The Ukrainian side suggested that it pay for a portion of supplies with their textile factories output. An agreement has also been reached on the establishment of direct contacts between regions where cotton is produced and Ukrainian consumers, as well as on further deliveries of ten strategic raw materials like zinc, copper, tungsten, etc. that Ukraine imports from Uzbekistan.

The Uzbek Government, in turn, is interested in steady imports of sugar from Ukraine. While about 50 percent of trade commitments on other products were fulfilled, Ukraine shipped only 15 percent of the 168,000 tons of sugar that it had to deliver to Uzbekistan under the agreement. This year, Ukraine itself is forced to import sugar. In spite of this, Ihor Yukhnovskyy said, we are obliged to help even if we have to use state funds. In order to strengthen the independence of Ukraine and Uzbekistan, we must live through this complicated political and economic situation, he emphasized.

The issues of mutual liquidation of debts, drafting of a bank agreement, and the development of gold-mining and aircraft-building industries were also among the topics discussed at the meeting.

The meeting was attended by Volodymyr Demyanov, Ukraine's deputy prime minister for agricultural and industrial complex issues.

National Affairs

Kravchuk Gives New Year's Address to Nation

LD0101101493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] Yesterday, 31 December, in the last minutes of 1992 Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, addressed New Year's greetings to the people of Ukraine.

In particular the president said that in spite of all the difficulties, last year was a year of creation. It was the first year of building an independent state. We adopted appropriate decisions, built a new life, argued, and made mistakes, but we continued on the course determined by the people on 1 December 1991. We acted consistently, took measure of the internal and external situations, strove to develop partnership relations on equal terms with all countries, and above all with our neighbors. We rejected dictates and attempts to interfere in our internal affairs, and took account of the objective difficulties of Ukraine with the CIS. Peace and accord were for us the determining criteria for our policies.

Talking about the New Year, 1993, Leonid Kravchuk emphasized that we should direct our energy toward healing imperial wounds and building a new life.

We have said frankly, and we say now, that the independent policies which are being created on the ruins of an over-centralized state, cannot give an immediate increase in prosperity, but the path toward this lies right through it, through these policies. We ask you to understand the unpopular steps of the government; it does not have any alternative. It is about economic survival, about preserving the state.

We will take new steps in establishing a true multiparty system. A democratic opposition will be born, which will go from internal, narrow party differences to resolving the cardinal problems of public life. I believe that representatives of various faiths will find a common language and reach an agreement and that spiritual pastors will prevent divisions.

I am convinced, Leonid Kravchuk said, that our state will consolidate itself even better in the consciousness of humanity, and that it will play an ever more active part in integration processes. Our young country is confidently entering the world community. Its consistent policy of peace and nuclear safety, and the prevention of any kind of armed conflicts, have earned high esteem. We have started on the path of deep political and socio-economic reforms, and we will go along this path consistently and tenaciously.

Let us believe that the New Year will give Ukraine new happiness, because faith is a great strength. It is capable of moving mountains. So, may the next year bring each of us more faith, more hope, and true love toward our neighbor. Without these eternal values neither the rebirth of a person, nor the rebirth of the nation, are possible. I wish you good things, health, and happiness. Happy New Year.

With these words Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, ended his New Year's greetings to the people of Ukraine.

Moscow Newspaper Interviews Premier Kuchma

MK0101171093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Dec 92 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Premier Leonid Kuchma by Vitaliy Portnikov; date and place not given: "Government Left All Alone With the People. Ukrainian Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma Hopes Viktor Chernomyrdin's Arrival Will Herald End of Economic War Between the Two Countries"]

[Text] [Portnikov] We are having this conversation soon after the government took its first unpopular step—raising prices. Has this led to conflict between the legislative and executive branches?

[Kuchma] We took this step quite deliberately because when the government came to power we talked of unpopular measures in the long term. Unpopular measures have already been put into practice. There is no doubt that the premier of this government will not earn prestige. But we are not working for prestige, we are trying to somehow extricate the country from the economic situation that has now developed in Ukraine. The situation is totally unsatisfactory. The main reason is the increase in the cost of resources. When oil prices have increased 300-fold can we survive without having any resources put by "for a rainy day?" We can get through three to four months, but what then? The end? As regards mutual relations with the legislative branch, common sense must prevail here. Of course, you do not need a great mind to adopt the stance of a critic of the government at the moment. But I think parliament will support us in taking these steps. After all, nowadays we are talking the language of numbers with parliament and the people.

[Portnikov] As a rule, the legislative branch is compelled to support your authority in voters' eyes by raising wages and pensions. Following that there is a new rise in prices. How do we get out of this vicious circle?

[Kuchma] Well, from the very beginning I asked parliament to impose a moratorium on all decrees [dekrety], laws, and resolutions [postanovleniya] associated with increasing wages or any kind of benefits. This moratorium is in force until 1 May. And we must hold out for these five months. If after that we leave office, then at least we will have created a good foundation for others.

[Portnikov] Added to the already real conflict between the executive branch and the prosecutor's office there is the potential conflict between the legislative and executive branches. The government is accusing the previous

Cabinet of Ministers apparatus of corruption. Meanwhile, at his news conference Ukrainian General Prosecutor Viktor Shishkin severely criticized you and the government, stating that he would not be a new Ukrainian Vyshinskiy [prosecutor under Stalin]. When the general prosecutor alludes to 1937, this gives pause for thought.

[Kuchma] I heard about this news conference. I do not know what grounds he can have to make such statements. I think the prosecutor's office should study the law on the prosecutor's office properly. After all, colossal harm is being done to the state. This is evident even to an untrained eye. So what is this all about? They must ask and answer this question themselves.

[Portnikov] How do you hope to collaborate with new Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin? Before he was elected didn't you express regret over Yegor Gaydar's defeat?

[Kuchma] I have made no secret of the fact that I had normal mutual relations with the Gaydar government. But also in many interviews, including interviews with the foreign media, I have said that I agree with one part of the program, but do not agree with the other part under which reforms are made only from above and it is forgotten that enterprises and other things exist. The fact that Chernomyrdin has replaced Gaydar is the Russian parliamentarians' affair. But I would like to express one thought: We are still living according to the principle that we think one thing and do another. Both politicians and everyone else have to change this and rectify it in our brains a little. We pay lip service to mutual understanding and economic cooperation, but when it comes to the crunch, we do the reverse. I hope that Chernomyrdin's arrival will herald the end of the economic war that is now going on between Russia and Ukraine. Both Russian and Ukrainian enterprises are suffering because of it.

[Portnikov] Is an economic war going on between enterprises or between governments?

[Kuchma] Enterprises both in Russia and Ukraine have an interest in cooperation. I have seen this for myself; I have only just come back from there and know the mood of everyone both in Russia and in Ukraine--it is only to cooperate, because the severing of ties means a direct loss.

[Portnikov] What could the model for Russian-Ukrainian cooperation be, bearing in mind that Ukraine is clearly coming out against the current situation in the CIS while Russia is a supporter of these structures, although it is also advocating the development of bilateral Russian-Ukrainian cooperation?

[Kuchma] Today it is absurd to talk of settlements at world prices. An economic war will start. Russia will increase oil prices to world oil prices. Ukraine will start to raise prices for its commodities, including prices for rail and sea transport shipments. What will this lead to? Of course, we must proceed toward this, toward ensuring that what a product costs is what it is actually worth. But you cannot solve this in one day, rather it will come about gradually by itself. Oil prices are already approaching world prices.

[Portnikov] There is an opinion in Ukraine that, as long as it depends on Russian oil and gas deliveries, there can be no talk of economic independence. Right now a Ukrainian delegation headed by Igor Yukhnovskiy is in Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan searching for alternative energy sources.

[Kuchma] I say to you in all honesty: The government, or at any rate the one I head, is pinning its main hope on economic mutual relations with Russia. That is why I am constantly stressing the need for bilateral ties. But I am perfectly well aware that right now the situation in Russia is not an easy one either; there is a fall in oil and gas extraction. So we have to seek some kind of reserve routes. But there is simply nowhere to go to. Therefore Yukhnovskiy went to both Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan—we continuously receive a huge quantity of gas from there—to conclude new contracts for next year. There is nothing new in this; there are no new orientations. But we have to think about prospects. If there is oil and gas in the Ukraine they must be found, because to depend on one pipeline is shortsighted indeed.

[Portnikov] How is your cooperation with President Leonid Kravchuk shaping up at the moment?

[Kuchma] So far all the questions I have raised with the president have been supported by him without any hesitation. I share the president's opinion that we now have to row together in the same boat, otherwise the boat will stand still. That is not in the interest of either the president or the premier. There are no conflicts; I say in all honesty that the president is supporting everything that the government is doing at the moment, including what is unpopular: increasing prices for basic food products. There are simply no other solutions, or we are not aware of them.

[Portnikov] Are you not afraid that the development of events will go according to the Russian scenario—that is, people will struggle not against you but against those reformist ministers who in your cabinet are responsible for implementing the policy of reforms. And that you, like President Yeltsin when he headed the government, will have to sacrifice reformist ministers of one sort or another in order to save the cabinet and the policy of reforms?

[Kuchma] Anything can happen in life, but so far I am satisfied with the main figures involved in the economic reforms. My experience of major economic work saves me from excessive woolly thinking which is usually characteristic of people who have spent most of their lives in science. After all, things in science are often totally different to what they are in practice. Even now we have made mistakes, without which it would have been possible to avoid putting people in a bad mood

immediately before the new year. Thus, we adopted the law on the state regulation of prices, the decree on freezing wages, and at the same time we are adopting the decree on increasing their minimum level only today. But I do not think we have a situation yet in which the premier has to defend himself against anyone. But in this grave situation, if people do not understand us the premier will simply have to leave.

[Portnikov] Do you believe that the directors' corps is indeed monolithic in its attitude toward reforms?

[Kuchma] Of course not. That is a totally incorrect opinion. Even in the other system the directors' corps was diverse. Just as today there are those who think about tomorrow, do not sit around idly, and try to find a way out of this serious situation and there are others like, for example, the young director of the "Arsenal" plant, who addressing his people, beat his breast and said: What a good man I am! I have reduced the volume of production by 30 percent, but I have not axed a single person and have maintained wages. There are such people. Yet others, of course, would like to return to the old days. It is quite incorrect to talk of uniformity. And the stratification will become intensified.

[Portnikov] When Viktor Chernomyrdin was elected as Russian prime minister many people compared his election to yours. At the time I advanced the following formula. Chernomyrdin is in fact possibly a Russian Kuchma, but Kuchma is clearly not a Ukrainian Chernomyrdin. In fact the new Russian premier's election demonstrates a tendency for business executives to come to power, and in this sense the comparison is correct. But on the other hand, Chernomyrdin came to power over a year after the economic reforms had started, while you have to start from scratch.

[Kuchma] I totally agree with your formulation of the question. A team of reformers had indeed already been formed there and they knew what they had to do, although I have already said and I repeat that I did not agree with them about everything. On the other hand, I can to some extent sympathize with Chernomyrdin. It does not happen that the entire team remains while the head is replaced.

[Portnikov] We are on the threshold of the new year. Do you think that it will be easier or harder than this year for Ukraine?

[Kuchma] There is no doubt that it is easier for Chernomyrdin, no doubt at all. Today people—for example all the vice premiers—have come into the Ukrainian Government who have not had experience of working in such structures. Practically all of us are learning, starting with the premier and ending with all my deputies. It is not so easy; time is needed for it and, of course, there will be mistakes. I am counting on the fact that the meeting due to take place in the first half of January with Russia between Presidents Yeltsin and Kravchuk and between premiers will largely determine, among other things, the state of affairs in Ukraine. Again I stress that if the hidden economic war that is going on now continues, the situation will deteriorate. If we realize that it is harmful to Russia and Ukraine I have every reason to think that the situation will improve. All the same we have given enterprises the chance to think about tomorrow without being frightened: We have reduced taxes, what goes on investment and reconstruction and on expanding production volumes is not being taxed, and we have scrapped value added tax. But this too is not a one-day or one-month process. Evidently a sharp fall in inflation, whose current level is high, can be expected only toward the end of the year.

Black Sea Fleet Denies Presence of Nuclear Weapons

OW3112170292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the Black Sea Fleet refuted messages of the Ukrainian mass media stating that there is nuclear weapons at one of the depots of the Black Sea Fleet in the Crimea.

According to the statement of the press center, the attempt to grant the nuclear status to the Black Sea Fleet has nothing in common with the reality.

Defense Minister Rebuts Allegations on Combat Readiness

LD0201062693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov has rebutted the allegations of certain deputies of the Ukrainian parliament to the effect that his aetivity leads to the lowering of the Ukrainian Armed Forces' combat readiness. In an interview with FLOT UKRAINY [UKRAINIAN NAVY], he repudiated the deputies' claims that the Army was too politicized. However, the deputies believe that in the course of the professional appraisal of officers, the question of their readiness for a war with Russia is one of the most important, EKSPRES-KHRONIKA reports. This was stated, among other things, by General Kuznetsov, commander of the Crimean Corps. The Ukrainian minister described such allegations as provocative.

Chernobyl Power Station To Shut Down in 1993

LD0301072093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] The Chernobyl nuclear electric power station will be shut down in the new year. As is known, last year the Ukrainian Cabinet passed a resolution on withdrawing it from service. This year the first and third power blocs are due to be shut down. In the meantime, the Chernobyl nuclear electric power station is still increasing output due to power shortages in the republic. The radiation situation at the station is normal.

Belarus

Shushkevich Welcomes Signing of START II

WS0401145593 Minsk BELINFORM in Russian 1214 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] "We sincerely welcome the signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction Agreement between Russia and the United States," said Belarusian Supreme Council Chairman S. Shushkevich today. In his opinion, it is not only a regular step in the sphere of disarmament but also a very weighty contribution to the radical reduction of strategic arms.

S. Shushkevich repeatedly confirmed Belarus' unconditional loyalty to the course toward a nuclear-free status and neutrality. He said that nuclear weapons on the territory of Belarus are under safe control. Although he did not doubt the effectiveness of such control, he added that "we want to get rid of the nuclear arsenals on our territory as soon as possible."

The Supreme Council chairman believes that the number of members of the disarmament process must be enlarged. He stressed that this does not mean Belarus, the United States, and Russia only. It should be taken into account that quite a great number of countries possess nuclear potential and they should be involved in the disarmament process. Thus, it would be easier to convert relations of confrontation into friendly ones.

Kebich Foresees Structural Changes in Cabinet in 1993

OW3112183092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1637 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Report by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Addressing the people over the national television with the New Year congratulations, the Belarusian Prime Minister, Vyacheslav Kebich, called the year of 1993 "the year of stabilization and a slight improvement of the living standard." The head of the cabinet believes that the passing year was the period to accumulate the experience of work under the condition of the state independence of Belarus. In Kebich's words, the recession of production in several branches of national economy was stopped in November and in December the republic even managed to gain a minor growth.

Speaking about the plans for the near future, the chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers said that he intends to introduce several changes in the government's structures. In particular, an Economics Ministry will be formed on the basis of the State committee on economy and planning.

Kebich also declared that he cannot agree with the accusations addressed to him of the extreme increase of the staff in the government's apparatus. "Our apparatus is a minimum one," the Premier believes. According to Kebich, about 400 people are working there now.

Kebich Assesses Economic Cooperation, Prospects

LD0101213893 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Zhuk; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Beginning today, food rationing is being introduced in Minsk. In addition, the minimum wage in Belarus will be around 3,000 rubles.

[Zhuk] At long last the industrial slump in the republic has been halted. Talking with the prime minister, we could feel how fragile that achievement is; yet success can be achieved. A new boost to economic revival, Kebich noted, will come about from the privatization which is beginning in the new year. In a word, today the components of stability in the republic have been more clearly defined.

[Begin Kebich recording] I want to say that the recession just cannot go on forever. We must stop and come to our senses. When I say we, I mean not just our republic—because not everything depends on us. So we must act firmly as friends, as neighbors, with other states, really as a way to get the economy moving, and not allow it to fall lower, because there is a limit, a bottom line, below which we must not sink. [end recording]

22 Jan Proposed as Date for Minsk Commonwealth Summit

OW0401094493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0931 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belarus has proposed that the staging of the meeting between heads of state and government of the Commonwealth nations in Minsk take place on January 22nd.

A communication on the above matter to the leaders of the Commonwealth nations was issued on Monday [4 January] for circulation in the CIS headquarters by Belarusian Speaker Stanislav Shushkevich and Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich.

The communication stressed that Kebich and Shushkevich considered January 22nd to be a suitable date for the summit to take place. Their opinion was a result of the consultations which had taken place and the proposals which had been made regarding the timing of the summit, which had been re-scheduled more than once to reasons beyond the control of Belarus itself.

The address, which was prepared on January 4th at a meeting in Minsk connected with the forthcoming summit, confirmed the readiness of both to attend.

The letter also mentioned that the two had "the honour of inviting to Minsk the heads of state and government together with their spouses," for whom a separate programme had been arranged.

Shushkevich Lauds CIS Unity, Says Contours May Change

OW3112171492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1642 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his New Year message to the people of Belarus, Chairman of the Belarusian parliament Stanislav Shushkevich described the CIS as a new and unprecedented type of inter-state entity. "It has not yet asserted itself, however. Nor has it developed the most efficient forms of cooperation," he said. Stanislav Shushkevich is convinced that the extent of integration will change and that the contours of the CIS will be altered, too. However, the idea of unity, based on the common economic interests and historical experience, will remain," he said. [quotation marks as received] He stressed that the formation of the CIS was an objective necessity which helped save important contacts with the former Union republics.

Shushkevich Addresses Officers Swearing Allegiance

LD3112224092 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Excerpts] A significant event in the lives of our servicemen took place today on New Year's Eve: Officers in the armed forces swore allegiance to the people of Belarus, their motherland. Here is a report from Ministry of Defense headquarters by our special correspondent, Mikhail Rutkowskiy:

[Rutkowskiy] In the headquarters assembly hall there are generals and officers of the armed forces of our republic in full dress. Each of them feels honor and great responsibility for the future of Belarus and its people. This is the second oath in the lives of our servicemen. They took their first oath of allegiance to the former Soviet Union and its people and today they are swearing allegiance to their native Belarus and the Belarusian people. At 1000 Stanislav Stanislavovich Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, entered the hall. Defense Minister Colonel General Pavel Pavlavich Kozlovskiy reported to him. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Stanislavovich Shushkevich addressed those present. He warmly congratulated all the servicemen on the oath of allegiance and expressed his confidence that today will be remembered forever in the chronicles of historical events in our motherland because such a thing has never happened before in our ancient but also very young Belarus.

[Begin Shushkevich recording] Esteemed generals, officers, and warrant officers: Today is an unprecedented day for Belarus. Everyplace where military people serve, the words of the oath—strict, solemn, and at the same time filled with love and loyalty to the motherland—will be pronounced.

It is not for the first time that this ritual is taking place on Belarusian land. It happened in the faraway grayness of centuries past and in the recent past. Many generations of Belarusian servicemen swore allegiance to various masters, some to a prince, some to a king, some to an emperor. But only now, only today, is it their people to whom they are swearing allegiance. This represents the special significance and special solemnity of today's official ritual.

All who will now read the simple but high words of the oath have come to this responsible event consciously and in full understanding that the oath gives a person not so much relevant rights as relevant duties. We have been approaching this event without haste but confidently and methodically.

I congratulate you on the swearing of allegiance by generals, officers, and warrant officers. I congratulate sergeants and soldiers who are at this moment standing excited in tight ranks everywhere in our land. I congratulate the whole Belarusian nation, to whom at long last this oath is given. I congratulate you and wish you success in the service for the good of our beloved motherland. Happiness to you and prosperity for the New Year and all the following years. I invite the beginning of the oath of allegiance. [end recording]

[Rutkowskiy] The minister of defense himself, Col. Gen. Pavel Pavlavich Kozlovskiy, swears his allegiance.

[Begin Kozlovskiy recording] I, a citizen of the Republic of Belarus, Pavel Pavlavich Kozlovskiy, serving in the armed forces of the Republic of Belarus, swear allegiance and solemnly swear to carry high the honor and dignity of a servicemen of the armed forces of the Republic of Belarus, to learn the military science conscientiously, to be a courageous, loyal, and selfless defender of my people, and to firmly obey the constitution, laws and military statutes. If I violate this solemn oath of mine, let me be punished severely by the law and the universal resentment of the people. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Shushkevich Speaks After Ceremony

LD0101094793 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 31 Dec 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] In all garrisons soldiers, officers, and generals lined up ceremonially in order to take the oath of

allegiance to Belarus. Here, in the assembly hall of the Defense Ministry, the oath is being taken by leading personnel of the republic's military department. The first to take the oath was Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy. But the ceremonial occasion was opened by Stanislav Shushkevich [chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet].

[Begin Shushkevich recording] All questions connected with servicemen transferred from the Western Group of Troops have been unambiguously resolved by our Supreme Soviet: they have been enabled to take the oath, if they so wish. If they do not want to take the oath, no one is forcing them to. First, there is the contract form of work for servicemen who have skills that are in short supply. The serviceman has freedom of choice. For six months already, he has been able to choose where he serves. We are proud that more people wish to come to our country than wish to leave it. [end recording]

Moldova

President Snegur Delivers New Year's Eve Message

AU0101152993 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] The year of 1992 was a difficult one, and yet it was the year in which the nation has reasserted its wish to return to its true traditional values and to democracy, Moldovan President Mircea Snegur said in his New Year's Eve message.

President Snegur also highlighted the fact that by means of the day-by-day work of the people—under the extremely difficult circumstances of the transition period—and by the sacrifice of all those who took up weapons to defend the country's independence and territorial integrity, the Republic of Moldova has proved to the whole world and—primarily—to itself that the option of August 1991 [Moldovan declaration of independence] was a correct one. President Snegur insisted in his speech on the fact that the ideals of the Republic's independence and territorial integrity should also be defended in the future and asserted that any attempts—regardless of the which side they come from—to curb those ideals will be countered.

Expressing his hope that 1993 will be a turning point in the sense that everyone will comprehend that the fate of the country is indissolubly linked to the success of the reform and to the industrious labor of each citizen, Mr. Snegur appealed for peace and unity and for all efforts to be directed toward reaching those goals.

Snegur Rejects Accusations, Comments on Romania

AU3112194092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] In an interview granted to AFP and reported to us by our special envoy in Chisinau, Gabriel Ionescu, the president of the Republic of Moldova, Mircea Snegur, emphasized that he links all his hopes to the year 1993, because real preconditions have been created for the transition to a market economy through the adoption of important laws, which permit the operation of its mechanisms.

Asked to comment on his 24 December statement in parliament, President Mircea Snegur said that his goal was to contribute to ensuring the Republic's integrity, and to introduce law and order throughout Moldova.

President Mircea Snegur emphasized that numerous deputies did not read that statement carefully, and this led to certain accusations against himself, which he views as obviously tendentious and which he categorically rejects.

President Mircea Snegur said that during his future meeting with Mr. Ion Iliescu, president of Romania, he will discuss the irresponsible statements by certain dignitaries regarding a possible unification, especially because the sociopolitical situation in Moldova is complicated. He also said that next year relations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania will be marked by the signing of the treaty of fraternity between the two Romanian states.

Parliament President Comments on 'New Allies'

AU3112194392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] In the 31 December "Morning Wave" program, Chisinau radio broadcast an interview granted by the president of the Parliament of the Republic of Moldova, Alexandru Mosanu. After examining last year's events with special emphasis on the conflict imposed on his country in the eastern rayons, Mr. Alexandru Mosanu stressed that preparations are under way in some areas of his country for a referendum that is at variance with legal norms.

Stressing the need for a clear-cut definition of the future orientation of the Republic of Moldova, the president of parliament said, quote: Next year very many things will be clarified. We will return to a normal situation only if we observe the declaration of independence and if we are able to correctly and calmly choose our true, but new allies. Events have demonstrated that only our brothers have been our allies. Generally speaking, what would have happened to us during the military conflict in the Dniester region had we not been helped by our brethren across the Prut River. We could have been stepped on. This help was multilateral, and it continues even at this time, unquote.

CIS Economic Space Judged More Beneficial

LD0101151993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1432 GMT 1 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Chisinau January 1 TASS—Moldova finds it more beneficial to be in the single economic space with the Commonwealth of Independent Nations, buy petrol

and other energy resources at a rate of 1.2 of the domestic prices than to find itself in a situation similar to that of the Baltic countries, which have to buy the same resources at prices 3-3.5 times higher than those Moldova pays at present, according to First Deputy Economy Minister Andreas Deakonu.

The Moldovan deputy minister told ITAR-TASS that the Moldovan economy is still going through a crisis. During the 11 months of 1991 the volume of industrial production went down by 25 per cent from the level of the same period in 1991, turnover in trade shrank by half and the use of investments in the national economy by one-third.

Deakonu said this was due to the ill-considered severance of the old system of economic management which had taken decades to build.

Economic Crisis Continues; CIS Relations Viewed

LD3112234392 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0145 GMT 31 Dec 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Fedor Angeli and Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Chisinau, 31 Dec—Moldova's current financial situation remains complex. The crisis has been caused by a sharp drop in production volume due to the severing of economic ties with the former Union's republics, Moldovan Finance Minister Klavdiya Melnik told journalists.

Melnik believes the difficulties were considerably aggravated by the severe military conflict with the Dniester region and an unusual drought which has affected the republic's agriculture; this sector accounts for over 50 percent of Moldova's output. Output volume from January to November attained only 74.7 percent compared with the same period last year. The results of the work of the republic's industrial enterprises in November, however, showed a tendency toward increasing the volumes of output and commodity turnover.

The minister explained certain positive changes in the economy by the Moldovan Government's unfreezing mutual payments with CIS countries, implementing a special form of mutual settlement within the republic, and allocating credits for the indexing of enterprises' working capitals. Melnik believes that as of 1 January 1993 the West will purchase only those Moldovan products that are accompanied by special quality and safety certificates. Because the republic does not have such certificates, Moldova can be economically cut off by Europe and America.

Therefore, the minister believes that if Moldova would like to escape economic isolation it should first clearly define its attitude toward the CIS; the latter made a statement recently that trade with states which are not members of the Commonwealth will be regulated by international standards only.

Weekly Claims Referendum Would Serve Russian Interests

AU0301200693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1514 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES, 3/1/1993—"The pro-imperial forces try by all means to keep their influence and even to restore the former political geography of the USSR under a new name: the CIS, confederation, joint economic system, and so on," writes in weekly LITERATURA SI ARTA [LITERATURE AND ARTS] Mihai Gonta, head of chair with the Chisinau State University. "These forces have a big weight in our poor republic, making up in fact an advanced post of the empire, by the former south-western frontiers. Their new maneuver is the pressure put up on Parliament to organize a referendum with the concealed purpose to legislate independence. From whom? From Romania, in order to gain time, hoping that history will take one step backward to the big Russian empire." The author regretfully notes that "President [Mircea] Snegur, by his December 24 declaration, demonstrated he has not escaped the massive influence of these forces that have picked for their new attack the fittest moment for them and the least appropriate moment for our people: The economic disaster aggravated by the well-scheduled and directed deficit of energy resources, the lack of unity in Parliament, and the people's growing political indifference." "The declaration of independence," Mihai Gonta writes, "comforts us but actually the political frontier along the Prut river [separating Moldova and Romania] is the prerogative of the CIS (read the empire) and not Moldova's. Do we have a unitary state? No. The Dniester Republic and Comrat County are not controlled by the legitimate bodies of the republic. Actually, they are regions occupied by another state. The 14th Army and other military units of Russia are stationed in our territory, which do not even make a promise to return sometime in the future to their homeland. Can we speak of free expression of the opinion in conditions of foreign occupation? We are a state independent from Romania, yes, but not from Russia as well. And would it not be a big shame for us to organize a referendum invented by our enemies in order to render us even more 'independent' from our brothers?"

"The referendum would contribute to an unwanted cooling of the relations between Moldova and Romania which in the hard times of armed aggression by the empire was on our side and gave us every possible support, like real brothers. It is not those who really want to help us that allure us to the CIS but those who want to maintain their territories occupied in the past. Our small ship attacked by the big waves of history is broken in many a place and may sink soon." Mihai Gonta concludes.

Kazakhstan

President Nazarbayev Views Prospects for 1993

LD0301165993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0707 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Interview with President Nursultan Nazarbayev by correspondent Viktor Glukhovstev; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Glukhovtsev] Nursultan Abishevich, the new year is already a few days old. What are the first steps of the president of Kazakhstan, his plans, his thoughts on the year ahead?

[Nazarbayev] Everybody associates the new year with something new and wants his wishes and cherished ambitions to come true. Like everybody else I would also like the new year of 1993 to be a better one for our people than 1992. Last year was the first year of independence, of independent navigation, not only in Kazakhstan but in other republics, with all the difficulties that this entails, the extremely complex issues of nation-building, democratization of society and the switch to a market economy which had to be resolved all at the same time.

In this respect the people experienced all the burdens of the transitional period. Many work collectives found themselves in a difficult predicament because of the interruption of supplies and the disintegration of the former single economic area. At the same time the year was noteworthy for Kazakhstan in that we instituted our state symbols: our banner, anthem, and coat of arms. For the first time all Kazakhs, our fellow-countrymen living abroad, gathered in their ancestral homeland. A principal achievement, all the same, was the fact that our economy made better progress than in other years; that's my view. The most important achievement was the fact that in Kazakhstan we managed to preserve interethnic harmony. A forum of the republic's peoples was held, and this was an important event. Therefore, like the rest of the people, we expect that this year will be easier for people and wish to make it so.

In this respect I cannot avoid commenting on what is likely to happen in our commonwealth as a whole. The processes going on there are very complex. The work we did during the year cannot be described as entirely negative. We held meetings and discussed various issues. But I do not think the commonwealth which everybody spoke about has come into being. In this connection I would like to continue my efforts to unite our economies and to bring these states politically closer. When signing the agreement on the establishment of the CIS, each signatory had, I think, his own vision of the Commonwealth. That is the cause of our disagreements. We should probably give some thought to creating a nucleus within the Commonwealth, in which coordination ties would be closer. After all, very great suffering is being caused by the lack of such ties. This particularly applies to industrial enterprises and agriculture.

I think we must continue our work toward unity, because the peoples who inhabited the former Soviet Union continue to cherish in their hearts that great area which we used to call our common motherland. While recognizing both independence and sovereignty, as everywhere else in the world, we must take the road of bringing our economies closer together on a mutually advantageous basis. The market knows no borders. Everything must be done to ensure that we in the ruble zone reach agreement and move in unison to increase the weight of our ruble. In other words, there are many tasks to be accomplished.

For Kazakhstan the start of the year is associated with such events as the continuation of parliament's work, the adoption of our state's first constitution, and the establishment of a program in which we seek an independent road for our future development. This stipulates an acceleration in the process of privatization and denationalization and in the pace of reform. Throughout the year we must do our utmost to strengthen the economy, to ensure that enterprises producing goods can breathe more easily. They must be given more attention.

In socio-political affairs the new year means the continuation of our policy of uniting all citizens of Kazakhstan, in order to achieve equality of all people through bringing them closer together, cementing friendship and making them aware that citizens of Kazakhstan now inhabit an independent, sovereign state. Psychologically everybody must get used to this concept. This is not an easy thing to do, because the burden of the past, the mentality of the past, is present in everybody.

In international affairs we will continue our policy of pooling the efforts of Asian states in order to establish a conference on confidence-building measures in the continent, and to resolve all conflict problems on our continent through this conference. We will continue our diplomatic line of promoting peace, disarmament, and a better life for all people.

I wish to take advantage of this opportunity to congratulate all inhabitants of the sovereign Commonwealth states on the new year. We must remain patient at this difficult time. We must unite and urge the people to remain calm, because we have to go forwards and not backwards. There is no other way of proceeding. Everybody must adopt civilized forms of living with each other, without demonstrations and strikes. So, I wish everybody the gift of wisdom, although this is difficult to accomplish. In 1993 I wish everybody success, health and happiness.

Prime Minister Meets CIS Industry Leaders

LD3112175892 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0940 GMT 31 Dec 92

[By KAZTAG correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 31 Dec—Kazakh Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko, who is in Karaganda (a large

coal-field in east Kazakhstan) met on 31 December with the leaders of the largest metallurgic enterprises from Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine.

Addressing them, he set forth the stand of the Kazakh Government concerning the development of ties with other Commonwealth countries. Tereshchenko stressed that Kazakhstan does not erect any barriers or customs borders, and does not put any obstacles in the way of developing mutually beneficial economic cooperation. He believes that while it is difficult, it is nonetheless still quite possible to ensure a coordinated price and tax policy and to settle mutual recognition issues.

Tereshchenko called the year now ending "a year of lost opportunities; lost for the economy due to the ambitions of certain politicians."

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev States Wishes for 1993

LD0101211093 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Recent events in Kyrgyzstan over the past several days give rise to hopes in the New Year. A new democratic draft constitution containing articles on private property is being considered at its first reading. Preferential credits are being promised by the IMF and the World Bank. [passage omitted].

[Begin Akayev recording] In this context, I have thought of three major wishes for the New Year. First, that peace and inter-ethnic concord be finally established in all the countries of our Commonwealth. Second, that we strengthen our Commonwealth. Should we accomplish this in 1993, my third wish would then be that via our joint efforts we begin to overcome the economic crisis. [end recording]

Tajikistan

Rahmonov Reviews National Struggle, Future Hopes

LD0101222393 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1843 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Address to the nation by Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rahmonov in Dushanbe on 31 December—live or recorded]

[Text] Greetings to you esteemed mothers and fathers! Esteemed sisters and brothers! Dear children! On the eve of the New Year, on this night when I should be congratulating all of you, I want mostly to express my sincere condolence and sympathy to all those who have lost their parents, brothers and sisters, their children, and all those who have (?lost someone). We received 1992 with the hope that we have a legal government and the chance to choose an independent path of development. More than 100 countries of the world officially recognized us and we have become a member of most international organizations including the United Nations.

Our hopes, however, did not materialize. The meetings which started in the fall changed into a fratricidal war and destruction which did not permit the construction of the new Tajik state. The departing year was not an easy one. This year was a serious test for our people. The insurgent forces under slogans which appeared democratic on the surface but in reality were extremist, created a situation which took our small country to near destruction. There was real danger of our people dividing. Not only the provinces but also the districts and villages were all seeking ways of separating from one another. Various local organizations such the Lali Badakhshan, Hamdelan Mehr-i Khatlon, Hisar-i Shodmon, [name indistinct], Zarafshon—all irrespective of their good intentions, did not strive for the unity of our dear country.

Finally the most powerful—the fundamentalist clergy who could not work openly before this—suddenly raised their heads and started indulging in illegal activities. The Rastokhez popular movement which was basically composed of the intelligentsia of the Republic claimed to have good intentions and the Democratic Party of Tajikistan, alongside their other unseemly activities, openly called for the extradition of the Russian speaking people and sowed the seed of discord between Tajiks and Uzbeks.

The clergy gradually entered the ranks of the democrats and through various means succeeded in making the Islamic Revival Party official, the reliable platform of which became the Kaziat of the Republic [the spiritual board of the Muslims of Tajikistan]. With the help of foreign dollars and the unlimited contributions from the mosques and reactionary clergy, they succeeded within a short period to create a strong extremist organization and obtained weapons and military hardware. The state of affairs reached such a stage that the mosques which are the (?property) of the Kaziat of the Republic and are place of worship were changed into major centers of anti-government propaganda.

All this was the cause of the start of a senseless fratricidal war in the country in which thousands of young people were killed, thousands of women were left without husbands, and hundreds of thousands of our poor compatriots became refugees and their properties were plundered; homes were burned, wives and children were forced to flee to various cities and districts in search of shelter.

Our economy has been damaged to the extent that it will take decades to restore it. Much equipment and technology were destroyed or plundered. Roads were destroyed and bridges blown up. Elegant buildings, built

with hard work, were levelled to the ground in a matter of seconds. In agriculture, we were unable to harvest even half of the crops.

In such a difficult situation, finally the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet was convened and the leadership of the country was elected with the active participation of all the deputies. All agreed that our society was not ready for the presidential system of administration, hence its abolition.

Now the supreme body of national authority is, in between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet which runs the state in a collective manner, and which resolutely demands from the government the implementation of the resolutions of the 16th session of the Supreme Soviet.

Today I can assure you that the new government is already (?tackling) the most urgent issues, and is taking all measures to swiftly bring about peace, mutual understanding, patriotism, fruitful labor, and friendship among all the peoples.

Already thousands of refugees from Leninabad Oblast, rayons of Khatlon Oblast, as well as from Uzbekistan and other countries are returning to their permanent places of residence. The refugees staying in Dushanbe are also returning to the Vakhsh Valley.

Government forces are now practically in control throughout Tajikistan. In Garm, Darwaz, and Badakhshan—thousands of our compatriots—are supporting measures by the central government and are helping in collecting weapons. Material and moral assistance is being extended to the rayons of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, Khatlon, and the Karatigin Valley.

We are receiving large amounts of grain, fuel, and medicines from Russia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan. Humanitarian aid is also coming in from the United States, Turkey, Iran, Germany, Poland, and other countries.

In the international arena, Tajikistan is once again seen as a country intending to build a humane, democratic, and secular society. Our policies have been supported by most of the world community.

Dear compatriots, sisters and brothers, one of the main causes of the problems facing our society was that the legal authority had no reliable, sovereign, and loyal force at its disposal to protect itself. The current leadership of the Republic is making all efforts to further strengthen all vitally important establishments. Officers of the State Committee for National Security and the militia have been reorganized at present in all towns and rayons and are being provided with weapons and military equipment. Hundreds of patriotic youths have been mobilized by these organizations.

Regardless of the bad state of the economy, we have begun the creation of a national Army and have taken specific measures to strengthen our southern borders. In accordance with a decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, courageous youths are to be mobilized. They, along with the Russian border guards, will protect our borders and will take practical measures for the return of the refugees to their country. On the eve of the New Year and on behalf of all the people of the Republic, I express my gratitude to the fraternal countries of Russia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, Turkmenistan, and Ukraine for their all-round and selfless assistance to our people.

Our neighboring countries, China, India, Pakistan, Iran, Afghanistan and other friendly countries—the USA, Turkey, Canada, Germany, France, Egypt, Israel, and Great Britain—are all in favor of progress in our republic and seeing our state coming out of this great political and economic crisis.

On the eve of this New Year, we extend greetings and sincere regards to the people of all these friendly countries and of the other countries who have established good relations with us.

Dear compatriots, I must say that the history will never pardon the guilty, and those who are guilty before it should receive their punishment.

I hope that our historians and sociologists will correctly assess the bloody events of the past year. The most important thing is that our dear people recognize who was responsible for the destruction and ruin. Today, I would like to point out one thing, that we—the current government—are in favor of pluralism in politics and economy, and are not in favor of war. Our aim is to discuss face to face with all who believe in [word indistinct] politics, and we accept all right criticism. However, I am amazed that those who claim to be defending the national interests, such as Haji Akabar Turajonzoda [spiritual leader of Tajik Muslims], Mohammed Sharif Hemmatzoda [leader of the Islamic Rebirth Party], Davlat Usmon [deputy of the Islamic Rebirth Party], Shadmon Yusuf [president of the Democratic Party], Mullah Abdullah and Mullah Abdulgafor, who have done all this to the people and the country, are now relying on outside powers to ensure the well-being of the people.

The people know very well who these so-called leaders of the nation are and the curse of the people will be with them for ever.

Dear compatriots, moving into 1993, I hope the pain, suffering, death, and destruction of the past year will never be repeated, not even a tiny bit. I hope the coming year will be a year of peace and security in our land and tranquillity and good tidings in our homes. With the beginning of the New Year all of us should begin with fruitful labor the revitalization of the economy, which has been ruined as a result of the fratricidal war. We should extend our hands to each other and selflessly work to get our country as soon as possible out of the mishap which has befallen it.

Let me once again congratulate you dear compatriots from the bottom of my heart on the occasion of the New Year 1993, and wish you a good time and prosperity, good health and good fortune. Peace be upon you and a happy New Year.

Deadline for Surrender of Weapons Expires 4 Jan

LD0401065993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0647 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By KHOVAR-TASS]

[Text] Dushanbe January 4 TASS—The deadline set for the voluntary surrender of fire arms, ammunition and military hardware in Tajikistan expires at 14:00 local time [0900 GMT] on Monday [4 January].

In keeping with a decree issued by the Presidium of the Tajik parliament, if citizens and armed groups refuse to surrender weapons authoritative bodies are allowed to take necessary measures to find illegal weapons and ammunition and confiscate them by force, including searching citizens' private houses if necessary.

Stabilization Proceeding Slowly

LD0401132593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1223 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe January 4 TASS—The situation in the capital of Tajikistan and its outskirts is being controlled by joint actions of the National Security Forces and law-enforcement bodies. According to reports received by ITAR-TASS from the National Security Committee press centre of Tajikistan, notwithstanding the efforts made, the stabilization process is still going ahead slowly. Small armed groups continue terrorist acts and attacks on peaceful citizens both in the capital as well as in adjoining areas. Shots ring out at night time on the outskirts of Dushanbe.

The voluntary surrender of arms, as envisaged in the decree issued by the Tajik Parliament, is going ahead slowly. The deadline expires today, and persons avoiding voluntary arms surrender will be subjected to most harsh measures. In particular, units authorized to confiscate arms by force have been given the right to use special measures and firearms to kill. Any further possession and use of firearms will be punishable, including shooting to death those responsible for illegal possession and use of arms.

International Groups Denounce 'Repression' of Opposition

NC0101205693 Paris AFP in English 2022 GMT 1 Jan 93

[All names as received]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Jan (AFP)—Three international non-governmental organisations—Reporters Without Borders, Helsinki Watch and Amnesty International—have protested to the authorities in Tajikistan over repression of the opposition by ruling Communists.

The organisations outlined their protests in statements received in Moscow.

Meanwhile, residents in the Tajikistan capital Dushanbe, contacted by telephone from Moscow, said gunfire was heard in the streets overnight.

One Dushanbe inhabitant reported seeing four corpses lying in front of the Presidential Palace on Friday [1 January] morning.

In a letter sent to the head of the Tajikistan parliament, Imamali Rahmonov, Reporters Without Borders condemned "the witch hunt against the opposition which has already led to the deaths of several dozen people and the exile of numerous others." Many journalists had been forced to flee to Moscow, the organisation said.

Three journalists, including the former television and radio chief Ahmad Shah Kamel, had been assassinated and four others had disappeared, it added.

The human rights organisation Helsinki Watch protested against "the massive number of arrests of members of the Islamic-Democratic opposition since the coming to power of the new communist regime."

Amnesty International said "dozens of civilians, accused of being part of the opposition, have been executed by the pro-Communist government forces in Dushanbe."

The Tajikistan authorities have denied carrying out a massacre of government opponents in Dushanbe.

In an official statement on December 29, Rahmonov called on the United Nations to send observers to Tajikistan "to study the circumstances of the terror" which reigned in the capital.

Supreme Soviet Orders Conscription to Military Service

LD3112153392 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] Decision of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan on conscription of citizens to military service in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan, the declaration of independence of the Republic of Tajikistan, and the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Republic of Tajikistan on the establishment of the armed forces of the Republic of Tajikistan:

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Republic of Tajikistan resolves:

1. Citizens of the Republic of Tajikistan born between 1966 and 1975, who will be 18 by the date of their call-up

and who are not entitled to a deferment from the service, will be conscripted during January and February 1993 to the Armed Forces of the Republic of Tajikistan, the internal troops of the Republic of Tajikistan, and the border troops of the Russian Federation stationed on the territory of the Republic of Tajikistan.

2. The organization and implementation of conscription to the military service is assigned to the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan.

3. The executive committee of the soviet of people's deputies of the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, the executive committees of the soviets of people's deputies of Leninabad and Khatlon oblasts, the city of Dushanbe, and the soviets of people's deputies of rayons and towns subordinate to the republic should organize a call-up commission from among the employees of local councils and military commissariat, as well as public (?health) and internal affairs officials.

The (?most able) youths should be conscripted to the border troops of the Russian Federation stationed on the territory of the Republic of Tajikistan to carry out the tasks of protecting the state border.

4. The Defense Ministry of the Republic of Tajikistan, along with the state committee of the Voice and Vision of the Republic of Tajikistan and the republican, oblast, and rayon newspapers and magazines should carry out all-around propaganda work among the population on the need to strengthen defense capabilities in order to arouse patriotic feelings and pride in the independence of the Tajikistan state.

5. Comrade Solehov, prosecutor general of the Republic of Tajikistan, and local officials of the prosecutor's office should extend all around cooperation to state commissions on the timely organization of conscription of citizens to military service, and to ensure implementation of measures envisaged in the law against citizens who avoid military conscription and leave their places of military service.

6. The supervision of implementing this decision is assigned to Comrade Ubaidulloyev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan.

[Signed] Imamali Rahmonov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan

Rahmonov, Delegation Leave for Talks in Uzbekistan

LD0401092793 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0100 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Text] On 3 January an official delegation of the Republic of Tajikistan led by Imamali Rahmonov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Tajikistan, left for Tashkent. Abdumalik Abdullodzhanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mukhammad Ubaydullayev, [names indistinct] his deputies, Foreign Minister Olimov, heads of a number of ministries and departments, a large group of specialists and [words indistinct] make up the delegation. Talks are planned between the official delegation of the Republic of Tajikistan and the leaders of the Republic of Uzbekistan on many questions of mutual interest.

Before departing for Tashkent, Imamali Rahmonov told Tajik TV and KHOVAR reporters that this is the first official meeting of the leaders of Tajikistan with fraternal Uzbekistan. He stated we will discuss the situation in Tajikistan with our friends and will seek measures for the stabilization of the situation and setting up of areas [words indistinct].

Imamali Rahmonov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan, also said that an agreement will be signed between Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan on bilateral cooperation.

At the airport the delegation was seen off by Dostiyev, [names indistinct], deputy chairmen of the Supreme Soviet, Samadov and [name indistinct], deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, chairmen of the committees of the Supreme Soviet, and other officials.

Document Examines Damage Caused by Fighting

LD0101033293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0856 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] Dushanbe, 31 December— A state of emergency and a curfew are still in force in the capital of Tajikistan. Tanks and armored personnel carriers are still patrolling the streets and bursts of machine-gun fire can occasionally be heard in the outskirts at night.

According to Makhmud Ikramov, the city's mayor and a people's deputy of Tajikistan, the situation in Dushanbe is under full control of law-enforcement bodies. In order to prevent possible provocations on New Year's Eve, armed posts in the city itself and in the approaches thereto will be reinforced by government troops and forces of the 201st Russian motorized division.

According to a report from KHOVAR news agency correspondent Nabijon Karimov, Tajikistan's Interior Ministry has circulated the government report "On the Socio-Economic Situation in the Republic and the After-Effects of the Armed Conflict."

The armed confrontation between various political groups, which lasted for over ten months, virtually paralyzed the economy, the document says. The overall damage exceeded 90 billion rubles, the slump in industrial production amounted to 23 percent.

Hostilities have inflicted substantial damage on housing, the report continues. It is estimated that in all, housing equalling a total floor-space of 608,600 square meters has been destroyed.

The report goes on to say that the problem of migration of the population has become more acute in Tajikistan. Official figures put the number of registered refugees at

537,000. In Dushanbe alone, they number over 120,000. The outflow of population from the Republic has increased. In nine months alone, about 70,000 people left the country.

The document emphasizes that the Republic is unable to cope with the restoration of its economy all by itself, and is therefore counting on help from its CIS partners and other states, as well as international organizations.

Dushanbe Residents To Receive Free Water

LD0201093093 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 0400 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] According to the decision of the Dushanbe City Executive Committee, starting 1 January the homes of Dushanbe residents will be supplied with cold water free of charge. This is the second capital city of the countries of CIS where the city administrations will be providing such services for the cities. The first such city was Ashkhabad, capital city of Turkmenistan whose people have not paid for water for two months now.

Rail Transportation Returning to Normal

OW0201162393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1542 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The functioning of rail transport disrupted in Tajikistan by fighting between political groupings is now returning to normal—from the deputy head of the Central Asian Railway M. Habibov in Dushanbe.

Under a new schedule an express passenger train will run between Dushanbe and Moscow six times a week. No trains yet to other CIS cities.

Dushanbe Winter Fuel Supplies Arrive

LD3112231392 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] The executive committee of the city of Dushanbe reported today that with the help of the National Bank of Tajikistan fuel—with a value of 80 million rubles—arrived in Dushanbe yesterday. This is some 2.5 million tonnes of fuel oil. This will allow the citizens of the capital to see the winter through without any difficulties.

Turkmenistan

President Niyazov Delivers New Year's Message

OW0101152893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1352 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The year 1993 must become one of the decisive years for Turkmenistan, "the first year in the transitional period necessary for an upsurge in the republic, and the first year in the welfare-raising decade," Turkmen President Saparmurad Niyazov said in a New Year message to the people of Turkmenistan.

He said it is the main objective of the Turkmen leadership's policy "to make every individual and every family wealthier, richer." Only if this aim is attained can the country become rich and the people's spirit and dignity be raised, he said.

Unlike last year, Niyazov delivered his message in Turkmen only.

President Niyazov Implements New Tax Rates

OW0101184193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1608 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the eve of the New Year the Turkmenian President, Saparmurad Niyazov, signed a number of decrees and resolutions to introduce new tax rates for income, added value, and returns of the banks.

Beginning January 1 the tax rate on profits for legal persons is fixed at 25%; for exchanges, broker's offices, and enterprises busy with intermediate activity—45%.

Turkmenistan introduces the tax for the exploitation of the bowels of the earth. In accordance with the list adopted by the President these taxes will be imposed on 10 organizations extracting natural resources. The maximum rate has been established for the corporation "Turkmengaz"—22% of the ruble returns received from the realization of its production, for the associations "Turkmenneft" and "Turkmenmineral"—10%, and an 8-10 percent tax—for the rest organizations.

From the New Year, Turkmenistan is introducing tax rates for export of goods sold for hard currency. The tax rate for the export of natural gas constitutes 80%, gas condensate—30%, the products of the oil, oil processing, cotton-cleaning industries—20%, of the chemical and related to it branches of industry—15%.

The VAT [value-added tax] rate will constitute 10% for the food goods and goods for children and 20% for the other goods.

The income tax of the republican banks (except the State Bank and the Saving Bank of Turkmenistan) will constitute 30%, for foreign banks and their branches—15%.

Uzbekistan

President Karimov Criticizes Concept of Confederation

OW3112183292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1639 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Report by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Uzbek President, Islam Karimov, has organized an official reception on the occasion of the forthcoming New Year for the representatives of the diplomatic corps accredited to the republic.

The head of the republic pointed out that the collapse of the former mighty Union is an event which is being assessed differently today. "I mean first of all those who on the pages of the press and over the television suffer with nostalgia on the past and expressed, in my opinion, rash thoughts and wishes to return the past in the form of a state formation—a confederation," the President noted.

He criticized the statement of Mikhail Gorbachev who said that the former Union states "are standing on the threshold of new integration processes." I should say that Gorbachev speaks about the things about which many state and public officials think and speak aloud: politologists and different foretellers," Karimov noted.

The head of Uzbekistan expressed negative attitude towards the activity of "the so called Assembly of the parliaments of the CIS countries" which held its conference in St. Petersburg."

IF [INTERFAX] Note: He meant the 2nd conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of the Commonwealth in St. Petersburg held on December 28-29. Uzbekistan did not participate in this conference (Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan took part in the conference.) The head of the Russian parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, who chaired the conference, declared that under the conditions when the meetings of the heads of the CIS states are characterized by some "chaos" the center of gravity should be transferred to the activity of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly.

Karimov also negatively assesses the initiatives of "the leaders of several sovereign states." "There is no return to the past, one cannot lie to the people, to calm it with beautiful talks about the independence and sovereignty and at the same time to prepare beforehand the ways of retreat to the past under different covers fearing inevitable storms and misfortunes on this way," the Uzbek leader said.

He believes that this course has been proposed by those who yesterday advocated and stubbornly introduced into the life the principles of "shock therapy" and a forced transfer to a market. "I will not be surprised when they will join those conservative circles which never perceived either the sovereignty of the independent state or destruction of that communist empire which fed and brought them up." At the same time the Uzbek President positively assessed the creation of the CIS. "I always stressed that the CIS is a necessity. It is the necessity and a mechanism acceptable for all independent states which helps to preserve the civilized relations and contacts between the CIS states and to go to long-term bilateral relations. To a certain extend the formation of the CIS saved the former Union republics from the fate of Bosnia and Hercegovina," said the head of the state.

He pointed out that there is only one prospect against all attempts to return Uzbekistan to the past or to turn it away from the road of independence—the joining of the world community, a comprehensive development of mutually beneficial political, economic, and other contacts with all states which would like to view Uzbekistan as an equal partner.

Karimov Views Economics, Stability in New Year's Message

OW0101153093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1352 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Uzbek President Islam Karimov said stability, and ethnic and social peace was the main achievement the republic made in 1992.

In his New Year message, he said he admired "every inhabitant of Uzbekistan, regardless of his faith, ethnic origin, or convictions, who values this peace, who, by his everyday work and patience contributes to the construction of a safe and peaceful home for our children and descendants."

According to the President, the new Uzbek Constitution, approved by parliament at its latest session, "lays a legal foundation for an open democratic society, where anyone who lives in Uzbekistan will be provided with all conditions and state guarantees for a worthy life."

"For us, market relations are not an end in itself but merely a mechanism to provide a basis for a prosperous society, where everyone is able to realize his potential, talent, enterprise, and creative energy," Karimov said. This means that "shock therapy," leading to social and economic anarchy, where, in the absence of any state control, some people get rich while the bulk of the population becomes impoverished, are unacceptable. "The state should be the main reformer, and the reforms should be above all in the interest of the people and should not be detrimental to them. This is the essence of our progress towards a market economy," Karimov said.

Armenia

Ter-Petrosyan Discusses Karabakh in New Year's Message

OW0101153193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1352 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan is sure 1993 will be crucial for the republic as regards the establishment of democracy and the implementation of economic reforms.

In his New Year message, he said the Nagorno-Karabakh issue can only be resolved by peaceful means on the basis of international law. "Attempts to solve the problem by force are unacceptable. No political party should use the conflict in its own interests." The people of Nagorno-Karabakh must be allowed to make their own decisions, he said.

Ter-Petrosyan expressed the hope that this is the last difficult winter for Armenia and that peace will finally come to Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

Border Situation Said 'Considerably Worsened'

NC3112172992 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, we now present a report on the latest incidents in the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] and the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

The situation in the NKR and Armenia's border rayons has considerably worsened on New Year's Eve. The tension is palpable along the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Azerbaijan National Army [ANA] units organized attacks and raids on our republic's border regions after bombing and shelling them for 10 days. We informed you in detail on the attacks on Gorisskiy and Kapanskiy Rayons. We also informed you yesterday on the ANA attacks on Idzhevanskiy Rayon.

The attacks on the northeastern part of Armenia's border have been completely blocked. The Armenian Defense Ministry has reported that the aggressors were forced to retreat to their positions as a result of the effective measures taken by our defense units. Confirmed reports said that the enemy suffered many casualties. More than 100 Azerbaijani troops were killed and many others were wounded. Many of the enemy's tanks and armored vehicles were destroyed. The Armenian side lost 11 military servicemen and 18 civilian residents. The Armenian forces are ready to obstruct all the enemy provocations and evict the ANA units from their homeland.

Azerbaijan has suffered many casualties in its attacks, but it does not wish to think about this. It wishes to draw Armenia into a full-scale war, regardless of the consequences. Our viewpoint has been confirmed by the ANA attack on Krasnoselskiy Rayon. ANA units fired intensively on Krasnoselsk and several towns in that rayon with Grad rocket launchers, tanks, and machine guns and then launched an attack on Vahan yesterday. The attack was obstructed. The Azerbaijani units lost dozens of men. They also lost a lot of military equipment. The armed Armenian units pursued the enemy forces and evicted them from our republic's border. Furthermore, they intensively fired on Azerbaijan's firing emplacements to silence them.

The Armenian border is not [words indistinct]. The enemy will realize that fact. Nor has Armenia claimed territory from Azerbaijan. Baku Radio reported today that Azerbaijan has appealed to the Azerbaijani people around the world to convince the international community through influential organizations that Armenia has territorial claims against Azerbaijan. Obviously, the leading officials and reactionary forces in Azerbaijan wish to use every opportunity to present our republic as an aggressor. [passage omitted]

We wish to reiterate that Armenia has not claimed any territory from Azerbaijan. Nevertheless, the Armenian people cannot remain indifferent to the violation of the rights of the people of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh], which is an inseparable part of their homeland. Nor can they remain indifferent to the act of genocide against them. [passage indistinct]

Reports from Nagorno-Karabakh indicate that ANA units based in Fizulinskiy Rayon shelled Martuni, [placename indistinct], Machkalashen, and Karmir-Shuka with artillery and rockets at 1000 yesterday. Nearly 60 shells fell on [words indistinct]. Several buildings in Martuni were partly destroyed. An effort is being made to determine the extent of the damage. [passage indistinct]

There was firing along the other parts of the battlefront too. The confrontation was in the form of exchanges of fire. [passage indistinct] The Armenian self-defense forces retaliated against the enemy attacks in all cases. Traffic along the humanitarian corridor in Lachinskiy Rayon is moving unimpeded. [passage indistinct]

We now wish to report on the incidents on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan last night. The border guard posts in Kapanskiy Rayon were incessantly fired on from Azerbaijan. [Words indistinct] were fired on intermittently, however, no one was killed or wounded. Armed Armenian units returned fire.

Azerbaijan

Elchibey Delivers New Year's Message to Republic

OW0101152793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1351 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his New Year message to the nation, Azeri President Abulfaz Elchibey described Azerbaijan's conflict with Armenia and the resettlement of refugees as the republic's main problems.

He said the Azeri leadership will continue its efforts to achieve peace with Armenia.

Speaking about last year's achievements, the President said that peace had been preserved in Azeri society, and that Azerbaijan had signed treaties with Russia, Turkey, and Ukraine. In 1993, he said, the republic has to sign treaties on cooperation with Turkmenistan, the Baltic countries, Iran, Japan, South Korea, and some Arab states.

Elchibey expressed the hope that 1993 will be a year of economic revival. He wished the people of Azerbaijan patience and endurance.

Leaders To Confer With Iranian Leadership

OW3112143492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1345 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azeri and Iranian leaders have agreed to have talks. The date and place of the meeting have not been defined yet, Azerbaijan's State Secretary Panakh Guseynov told INTERFAX. It is more than likely that Azeri President Abulfaz Elchibey will go to Tehran, he said.

Preparations for the forthcoming Azeri-Iranian summit were the main goal of the recent visit to Tehran of an Azeri delegation, led by Guseynov. During its stay in Tehran, 10 preliminary protocols on economic, trade, scientific and cultural cooperations were signed, said Guseinov. Now the two states' experts are coordinating the draft treaty of friendship and cooperation to be signed by the two leaders.

Bill on Government Reorganization Ready for Approval

OW3112182992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Report by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The draft bill on the reorganization of the supreme executive power submitted by the President and developed by the presidential apparatus will be approved the next week. This decision was passed on Wednesday by Milli Mejlis of Azerbaijan following the preliminary discussion of the draft bill.

Tofik Gasymov, the chairman of the parliamentary commission on state system (the republic's Foreign Minister), and Etibar Mamedov, the leader of the largest opposition party of national independence, expressed their concern that if the submitted document is approved in its present state this can lead to the absolutization of the presidential power and to the narrowing of the functional sphere of Milli Mejlis. Nevertheless, the decision was passed in the following wording on the results of the debates: to recommend and to grant corresponding authorities to the president to conduct necessary structural reforms in the system of the supreme executive power.

This resolution is the result of the appearance of the first Vice Premier, Vakhid Akhmedov, at the session. In his interview with INTERFAX he pointed out that the existing parallel governing structures in the presidential apparatus and the Cabinet of Ministers are objectively hindering the reforms. In his words, many resolutions and decisions of the government do not work. Somebody should take the responsibility for the reforms, Akhmedov underlined. He added that the President and his team started the reforms and they declared about their resoluteness to take the responsibility for the fate of the reforms; they should be granted an opportunity to realize these initiatives. According to Vakhid Akhmedov, the parliament should approve the submitted draft bill.

In the words of the state secretary, Panakh Guseynov, who represented the President in the parliament during the debates, this statement underlines that the President is not only the head of the executive power in the republic but the supreme official as well—namely the head of the state. He pointed out that if the decree is adopted this will lead to the abolition of the dubbing of the state structures and will bring a sufficient economic benefit because the state apparatus' staff will be reduced approximately by 50-60%. The state secretary believes that the President's authorities should be expanded by means of the transferring the functions of the head of the government to him, the right to appoint and to dismiss the ministers without submitting these decisions to Milli Mejlis.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: According to the submitted draft bill, 31 ministries, state committees, and other administrative bodies of the presidential apparatus and in the Cabinet of Ministers will be abolished. To replace them 19 central administrative bodies subordinate directly to the republic's President are expected to be formed.

Kamberov Warns Against Move To Reconvene Supreme Soviet

NC3112165092 Baku TURAN in Azeri 0818 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] Baku, 31 Dec (TURAN)—Isa Kamberov, chairman of Azerbaijan's parliament, accused a group of people's deputies of trying to overthrow the government by attempting to reinstate the Supreme Soviet, which was dissolved in May 1992. He issued this statement when the deputies started collecting signatures calling for reconvening the Supreme Soviet.

Taking advantage of the tense socioeconomic situation in the country, the former Communist deputies are

trying to avenge themselves for the defeat they suffered at the hands of the Azerbaijan People's Front [APF] on 14 May 1992.

As is known, from the day of its accession to power, the APF terminated the functions of the Supreme Soviet and transferred its jurisdiction to the National Assembly until the elections for a new parliament.

Isa Kamberov warned the Communist deputies that serious measures will be taken against them unless they give up their plans.

Opposition Leaders Jailed in Attempt To Hold Rally

NC3112213192 Baku TURAN in Azeri 1257 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] Baku, 31 Dec (TURAN)—At 1500 today, the Baku police used force to prevent an attempt by 200 members of "Turan" Independent Workers Association of Azerbaijan from holding a rally in Baku's "Azadlig" square. There was no serious clash and only two persons were jailed.

They are Neymat Panakhli, the leader of "Turan," and Zeynal Vefa, the editor of MEYDAN newspaper.

Neymat Panakhli and his supporters had previously declared that they would struggle against the current government "which has betrayed the ideals of independence and has become subservient to Moscow and Washington."

Arrest Protested

OW0201162193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1542 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azerbaijan's movement of democratic reforms has launched a protest against "a cruel dispersal" of an unsanctioned rally of Azeri world solidarity held in Baku December 31. In a statement made for IF [INTERFAX] today the movement's deputy-chairman Avas Gumatov informs us that hundreds of people were beaten up and some leaders of the Turan independent trade union arrested. That includes Neymat Panakhli, Zeynal Vefa, Tofig Dadashev, Elzada Aliyeva, and others. The rally demanded the authorities adhere to democratic principles and refrain from arbitrary violence against the opposition.

"The latest events in Azerbaijan show that its government, unable to rule democratically, resorts to repressions against its citizens in the absence of a democratically elected parliament", continues the statement.

The movement resolutely calls on the President and the Milli-Majlis (parliament) to release immediately all those detained, to dissolve parliament, and to hold a parliamentary election on a multi-party basis.

Further Reportage on Military Situation

Villages Recaptured

NC3112164392 Baku TURAN in Azeri 0818 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] Baku, 31 Dec (TURAN)—The Azerbaijani Armed Forces conducted successful operations in Lachinskiy Rayon yesterday. Our military units launched an attack early in the morning of 30 December and by nightfall they had freed Sofian, Faradzan, Yukhari- Faradzan, and Kushchular, situated to the south of Lachinskiy Rayon.

The enemy suffered substantial losses in men. Furthermore, when the Armenians fled, they left behind three tanks, one armored personnel carrier, four launchers, and massive amounts of automatic weapons and military equipment.

Defense Ministry Communique

NC3112180292 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Text] The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry Analytical Information Center's communique follows:

Combat operations are being maintained to liberate our lands from the occupationist Armenian aggressors. Our fighters destroyed a PDM [expansion unknown] and killed six enemy troops in Kedabekskiy Rayon yesterday. Meanwhile, our artillery units in Fizulinskiy Rayon shelled Armenian positions in the vicinity of Kyrmyzy Bazar and Tsur. An enemy artillery unit and two trucks loaded with military equipment were destroyed with precision shelling.

Armenian Helicopter Hit

NC0101183893 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] The Azerbaijan Ministry of Defense Analytical Information Center's communique reads:

Regardless of the festive occasion, our fighters have dealt effective blows to the enemy on New Year's Eve and the first day of 1993. The enemy's attempts to launch new attacks were obstructed along the entire battlefront. The Armenian armed units tried to violate our state border last night in our Republic's Kazakhskiy and Akstafa Rayons. They were forced to retreat at the end of the five- hour clashes.

The Armenians launched a second attack on Kokhne Kyshlakh in Akstafa Rayon, but Azerbaijan National Army units rebuffed the attack. Exchanges of fire are taking place in that area at present. The enemy is being given a well-deserved lesson. They will not dare cross our border again.

Our units displayed exemplary performance in defending our territory against air attacks. An Armenian

military helicopter was hit in the vicinity of Srkhavend at about 1500 today. Our artillery units were not very active today, but an Armenian tank which fired on our positions on the Fizulinskiy battlefront was destroyed through precise shelling.

In general, the Azerbaijan Armed Forces maintained their superiority in another day of clashes in the war.

Positions Attacked

LD0101145993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1421 GMT 1 Jan 93

[By AZERTAC correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev for TASS]

[Text] Baku January 1 TASS—Armenian armed forces backed by armoured carriers and military helicopters have attacked positions of the Azeri Army in the Kazakh and Tauz regions today.

The Information and Analytical Centre of the Azeri Defence Ministry reported that during the five-hour fighting the Azeri National Guards rebuffed the attack.

Several hours prior to the attack the Armenian forces had opened artillery and rocket fire on border settlements of Tauz region and the settlements of Novo-Ivanovka and Novo-Saratovka of the Kedabek region in Azerbaijan.

Armenian Air Raids

OW0201160693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1542 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Azeri Defence Ministry's information and analytical centre has reported today that the Armenian airforce has bombed the villages of Novoyvanovka and Novosaratovka in the Kedabek region, north-west Azerbaijan.

According to the information centre the raid was followed by an attack on the villages from the Armenian territory supported by armoured vehicles and artillery. The Azeri side hit and seized a tank, a personnel carrier, and two artillery pieces. It also shot down an Armenian helicopter over Syrhavend, North Karabakh.

Missile Attacks Recorded

LD0201190793 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] According to reports from the Lur information center, a lull was observed lasting right up to midday on 2 January along the line of confrontation in Nagorno-Karabakh. Along the Armenian-Azerbaijani border, "Grad" missile installations and long-range artillery were used to shell frontier villages, as well as the rayon center of Noyemberyan in the northeast of the republic.

According to information from Azerbaijani news agencies, actions by Armenian detachments were recorded on 2 January along the southern borders of Nagorno-Karabakh, and Azerbaijani villages in Fizulinskiy and Zangelanskiy rayons were shelled.

Second Helicopter Hit

NC0201174693 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry Analytical Information Center's communique reads:

No significant change occurred along the battlefronts today. The Azerbaijan National Army units kept the four towns they recently liberated in Lachinskiy Rayon under their control.

An Armenian military helicopter was hit in the vicinity of Srkhavend yesterday. According to the Azerbaijani Air Defense Administration, nearly three tanks were also hit and destroyed. A second Armenian helicopter was hit and destroyed in the same vicinity yesterday. Seven enemy helicopters and a military aircraft were hit and destroyed in December 1992 and during the first two days of 1993. Azerbaijan air defense units are successfully defending the republic's airspace.

Clashes To Secure Heights

NC0301181093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry Analytical Information Center's communique reads:

The situation on the battlefront remained unchanged last night and this morning. Locally significant clashes took place for three border heights in the vicinity of Kokhne Kyshlakh in Akstafa Rayon yesterday. Kokhne Kyshlakh was shelled with artillery guns during the clashes. An Armenian artillery unit was hit.

[Placename indistinct] and Kushchu Ayrum in Kazakhskiy Rayon were fired on with tanks, infantry combat vehicles, and large-caliber machine guns from Armenia at the same time. The enemy fire was returned.

Georgia

Shevardnadze New Year's Message to Nation

OW3112170592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1642 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze expressed confidence that the year 1993 will bring Georgia stabilization and a worthy end to the war.

In his New Year message to the nation, he substantiated his confidence by the political and social changes which

took place in 1992. He described the outgoing year as a year of dramatic but vitally important changes in modern Georgia.

He said that the conflict in Abkhazia which had all the characteristics of an ethnic conflict, a civil war, an intervention and a patriotic war, was the main negative occurrence in 1992. "This war was imposed on us by the Abkhazian separatists and extremists behind which stand powerful imperial and fundamentalist forces, which would like to tear Abkhazia away from Georgia," he said. "We shall never forgive any encroachments on Georgia's territorial integrity. Abkhazia is part of Georgia and will remain so forever," he stated.

The second problem which is still to be solved is the economic crisis which caused industrial recession, unemployment, price-rise and starvation, said Shevardnadze. He also promised that the Georgian leaders will do everything they can to reduce the shortage of food stuffs and commodities, and to increase the citizens' incomes. The population of Georgia will be protected from the criminals," he went on to say. [quotation marks as received]

In terms of Russian-Georgian relations, the year 1992 was not easy, either, said Shevardnadze. So he expressed the wish that in 1993 good-neighbourly and friendly relations will be established between the two states. "We are ready to settle any problem through political dialogue, and sign a treaty of friendship and cooperation with Russia," he said.

Shevardnadze Meets Military, Abkhaz Leaders

LD0101111193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1002 GMT 1 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[Text] Sukhumi, 1 Jan—It is reported that Georgian parliament chairman Eduard Shevardnadze, Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua, and other officials were expected to arrive in Sukhumi yesterday evening. However, because of the difficult weather conditions the plane carrying the Georgian leaders landed at Batumi airport.

Yesterday evening, Eduard Shevardnadze and Tengiz Sigua arrived by helicopter in Ochamchire where they met with representatives of the Georgian military command in this region. At approximately 2300 the Georgian leaders arrived in Sukhumi where they met with Tamaz Nadareyshvili, prime minister of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, Lorik Marshaniya, his first deputy, and also representatives of the Georgian military command in Abkhazia. It is expected that Eduard Shevardnadze and Tengiz Sigua will meet with the military today again.

As far as the situation in Sukhumi is concerned, according to preliminary data, New Year's night was relatively calm in the city and its environs.

Warns Abkhazians of Armed Retaliation

LD0101135693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1327 GMT 1 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[Text] Sukhumi, 1 Jan—Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament, has urged a peaceful resolution of the armed conflict in Abkhazia. At the same time, the Georgian leader declared that, unless the Abkhazian side stops intensive shelling of residential areas in Sukhumi, the Georgian leadership will consider taking suitable measures to counteract the Abkhazian armed formations. He was speaking this afternoon at a meeting of the leadership of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers, at which there was discussion of the issues involved in supplying Sukhumi with fuel, electricity, and natural gas.

Comments on Return

OW0201144893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1420 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia's head of state and armed forces commander Eduard Shevardnadze expects war in Abkhazia to end in the first half of the New Year. However, addressing journalists at Tbilisi airport on his return from Abkhazia in the evening on Friday, he did not rule out general mobilization in the republican armed forces.

Along with the Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua, Mr. Shevardnadze had visited front-line positions and the zone of fighting.

The Georgian leader noted that "the courage and self-control shown by Georgian soldiers despite all hardships inspired hope that Georgia would really become an independent country". Mr. Shevardnadze expressed confidence that 1993 would be a critical year for Georgia and that peace would come to that long-suffering land at last.

Impressions of Tour

OW0401112993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1114 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia's leader Eduard Shevardnadze said that he was optimistic that the conflict between Georgia and Abkhazia would end. This optimism, he said during his usual Monday radio interview, was founded, above all, on his impressions after a tour of Abkhazia during the new year period. He announced that future speeches would set forth his views on how the conflict would end.

The Georgian leader announced that decisions would be made on retaliatory measures after the Abkhazian

shelling of Sukhumi when the republic's National Security and Defense Council meet on Tuesday. Shevardnadze declined to reveal exactly what these decisions would be.

Shevardnadze attached much significance to the meeting between the Russian and Georgian defense ministers, which took place in December, and said that this had been most necessary. He spoke in favor of maintaining contact between the armed forces of the two nations. Shevardnadze said that his visit to Iran would take place shortly. The visit would be the first by a leader of an independent Georgia. Shevardnadze said that preparations were currently being made for the signing of several important agreements on political and economic issues.

'Comparative Calm' Reported on Abkhazian Front

LD0201065693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0632 GMT 2 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS non-staff correspondent Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[Text] Sukhumi January 2 TASS—A comparative calm was observed along the line of contact between Abkhazian and Georgian troop units near the Gumista river on Friday. A spokesman in the Georgian military command's press centre told journalists that the concentration of Abkhazian troops was observed in Nizhnyaya Eshera village.

Up to 70 Abkhazian soldiers amassed on weapon emplacement lines near the Gumista river but the warring parties did not open fire in this area during the day. They remained on their positions on both banks of the Gumista river. The warring parties also did not open fire in other areas.

In the press centre they presume that lull is explained not only by the New Year holidays but also heavy snow that fell in the area of hostilities in recent days. In some places the snow cover is 60 centimeters deep.

Ministry Warns Russian Command

OW0401113293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1114 GMT 4 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of the Georgian Defense Ministry has informed INTERFAX that Abkhazian armed formations resumed their artillery fire attacks on the town of Sukhumi this Monday morning, with Georgian artillery returning fire.

According to the Georgian MOD [Ministry of Defense] press center, the Abkhazian artillery was shelling the residential quarters in Sukhumi throughout Sunday and Monday morning. Many houses were damaged, while no casualties have been reported. The press center insists that the artillery fire attacks were launched from the territory of a Russian military unit in Nizhniaya Eshera.

The Georgian MOD warned the Russian Army Command in Georgia that if such fire attacks continued, Georgian artillery would have to return fire.

The Georgian MOD press center also reported a major armed engagement in the Ochamchira District on Sunday; the casualties of the Abkhazian armed formations amounted to 15 killed and wounded and the losses of the Georgian side included four wounded.

In the meantime, the Abkhazian MOD reported a bombardment by Georgian aircraft of the villages Merkula, Baslakhu, Akuaska and Gul in the Ochamchira District. As a result of the air attack, five persons have been killed and twelve wounded (all of them women and children).

Abkhazians Shell Central Sukhumi

LD0401143293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1049 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[Text] Sukhumi, 4 Jan—The Abkhazian side opened intensive artillery fire on Sukhumi at 1130 today from the Abkhaz side of the river Gumista. Several shells exploded in the central part of the city. According to preliminary information, four people were killed.

According to information of the press center of the Georgian military command headquarters in Sukhumi, the Georgian forces yesterday rebuffed an attempted offensive by Abkhazian formations in the vicinity of the village of Toumysh, Ochamchirskiy rayon, and went in turn on the offensive. The Abkhazian formations lost up to 15 people dead and wounded. There were casualties also on the Georgian side.

Nine Dead, 12 Injured

LD0401151593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1450 GMT 4 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow January 4 TASS—Tension continues to run high on the entire line of contact between Georgian and Abkhazian armed units. Shootouts including artillery duels raged unabated on the entire Eshera-Sukhumi section today, a spokesman in the press service of Abkhazia's plenipotentiary representative in Russia told ITAR-TASS.

According to the same source, the Georgian side pounded using Grad missile launchers Eshera, Gvandra and Psyrikha villages this morning. The attack caused destruction and casualties. Fierce battles continue to be waged in the Ochamchira-Tkvarchal direction. The Abkhazian side managed to take under its control Atara-Armyanskaya village and is trying to capture Atara-Abkhazskaya village.

Abkhazian Supreme Soviet Chairman Vladislav Ardzinba made a statement today accusing the Georgian leadership "of genocide against the Abkhazian people, of eliminating their statehood to create a unitary mononational Georgian state."

According to Ardzinba, nine civilians died and 12 were injured as a result of the missile and bomb raid on Abkhazian villages on January 3. Among the casualties were mostly women and children. The strike caused heavy destruction. Several more people died on the same day when missiles from Grad launchers smashed into an apartment bloc in Novy Afon.

Ardzinba stated that the world should "call upon the Georgian leaders to halt immediately combat operations and pull out all of their troops from the territory of the Republic of Abkhazia."

Law Granting Right to Possess Weapons Approved

LD0101044893 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0200 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Text] Georgia's parliament has approved in the first reading the law on weapons. Under this law the republic's population is permitted to keep small arms and the state structures are permitted to trade in weapons. It is intended to register the weapons for self-defense being carried by the population.

It was pointed out at the session that the adoption of the law has been dictated by the need to somehow regulate and control the spread of weapons in the republic, inasmuch as in the present situation it is impossible to get people to surrender them voluntarily.

Estonia

Meri Vows To Promote Reform in New Year's Message

OW0101184593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1613 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Among the main tasks facing Estonia in the year 1993 is that of promoting the economic reform and enhancing the population's confidence in their strength and initiative, Estonian President Lennart-Georg Meri told his countrymen in his New Year message.

He said that Estonia is moving from the Russian time system to Estonian. "This movement is quite difficult and sometimes too slow," he said.

Lennart Meri stressed that the reforms hit the elderly farmers and intellectuals the hardest. "And yet, as we continue our advancement, we are inspired by the great hope which rests on the Estonian constitution, adopted in the outgoing year," he went on to say. In accordance with it, Estonia is a free, independent and sovereign state. The free elections to the State Assembly signified Estonia's return to the family of the European nations to which it belonged for 800 years, said Meri.

He also pointed out that thanks to the introduction of the national currency, the Eesti kroon, Estonian stores were filled with goods hitherto seen in Western advertisements alone. "Now the people are willing to work and to make money," he said.

Speaking about the main difficulties slowing down Estonia's evolution into a law-based state, Meri mentioned inefficient work of the authoritative bodies, the gap between the citizens' rights and duties, and slow implementation of the land reform and privatization program. He also expressed concern about the falling purchasing power of the population.

The Estonian president said that in 1992 trust in Estonia as a sovereign state increased in the world. Most of the countries realized that the Estonian Republic guarantees its citizens all civil rights and all people—the human rights in accordance with the international agreements signed within the framework of the UN and the Council of Europe.

Latvia

Joint Stock Firm Set Up With Russia for Oil Exports

OW3112165292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1607 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Christmas eve, Russia and Latvia signed an inter-government Protocol of Intention to set up a Latvian-Russian joint-stock company, "LaSam Ltd.", which will be responsible for the operation of the oil pipeline running from Russia to the Latvian harbor city of Ventspils. According to the Protocol, 49% of the stock will belong to the Russian side and 51% to the Latvian side.

In an interview for "DIENA" daily, Ojars Blumbergs, Chairman of the Latvian Supreme Council Commission for Architecture and Construction, expressed his apprehensions that of the 51% of the stock belonging to the Latvia side, 10

will be owned by the companies which were established with the participation of foreign capital. In his opinion, as a result, the Latvian government may lose control over this joint-stock company.

Lithuania

Brazauskas Says New Year Will Be Difficult

OW3112170992 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1606 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "1993 will, certainly, not be an easy year for Lithuania," Lithuania's Acting President Algirdas Brazauskas said in an interview to Vilnius' Russian-language daily "EKHO LITVY" on Thursday.

Mr Brazauskas, who has already agreed to run for the republic's presidential office, expressed hope that the Lithuanian government and the Seimas "will concentrate their efforts in pursuit of the main goal—improvement of living standards of the Lithuanian people", and that they will manage "at least to stabilize the situation and stop the ongoing downfall" next year. After that, according to him, the situation "is bound to improve step by step".

Mr Brazauskas also noted that Lithuania, as a small state, should be equal to the objectives it is setting before itself in terms of "sensible measures aimed at improving the economy, establishing more efficient trade relations both with its neighbors and distant countries, optimum application of foreign investments, humanitarian, financial and other forms of support".

Mr Brazauskas' interviews on the last day of the past year have been published by most of the Lithuanian papers. In presenting Mr Brazauskas' assessment of the situation in Lithuania, "RESPUBLIKA" quoted him as saying that "up to now we have been destroying whatever was created in the past". Mr Brazauskas expressed an aspiration to concentrate the efforts of all the republic's population, regardless of their outlooks and without dividing them into belligerent camps, on building the future, aiming at the 20th century. [as received]

"I am convinced," Mr Brazauskas said in responding to the questions of "TIESA" daily, "that the time of the

industrious people is coming". He wished everyone to keep their spirit up in 1993.

No Return to Past

OW0101185193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1611 GMT 1 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his New Year address to the population broadcast over the national television, Algirdas Brazauskas, the acting President of the Lithuanian Republic, wished endurance, consent, optimism, good health, and happiness to the Lithuanian people.

Brazauskas pointed out that 1992 was "a stormy, impressive year filled with political events." According to Brazauskas Lithuania has perfectly passed an exam in democracy." [no opening quotation marks as received]

Speaking about the economic problems, the Lithuanian leader stated that the revolutionary methods in economy had not , roved themselves. To this effect he advocated rationalism in the reforms which, in Brazauskas' words, would help to go out of the economic crisis.

The acting President underlined that "a calm everyday creative work is necessary" to achieve the main aim—to stop the falling of the living standard.

"Even following the replacement of the leadership, Lithuania will not return to the past, it will go forward and will look for the best, the most rational ways to achieve its goals," said Brazauskas.

Prime Minister Lubys Comments on Government Policy

LD3112192092 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2230 GMT 30 Dec 92

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Bronislovas Lubys read by correspondent Ilona Rukiene; place and date not given—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Rather than being forced to resign, my cabinet has a chance to make this step on its own will after the presidential elections in accordance with the provisions of the Lithuanian Constitution, said Bronislovas Lubys, Lithuania's prime minister, in an interview to Radio Vilnius. Here it is read by Ilona Rukiene:

According to Mr. Lubys, it is always better to resign rather than being forced out of office. The new cabinet is to function for the next two months. However, the possibility that it may remain in office following the presidential elections, due to be held on 14 February 1993, cannot be excluded either.

Talking about the specific tasks that the government was planning to tackle, Mr. Lubys acknowledged that his strategy would not exactly correspond to the measures needed to create a [word indistinct] market oriented economic system. Mr. Lubys believes that under the current situation with the Lithuanian economy continuing to slide downhill, a certain dose of state regulations was essential.

[Lubys] "Today Lithuania is badly short of hard currency to pay for much [word indistinct] energy resources. Yet, on the other hand, those funds are actually here but we fail to collect them because they seem to be floating around somewhere instead of being used in the interests of the state and every one of us. We do not want to use those funds for the purchase of cannons or anything similar. We want to use that money for something which everyone needs."

While drawing next year's budget, the new government hoped to provide more social guarantees to the population. In the area of foreign policy Lithuania's new cabinet expects to reach a top level agreements with the neighboring states of Poland and Belarus during the next few months. Of the other priorities Mr. Lubys said that measures have to be taken to iron out numerous misunderstandings and problems which had arisen due to the handing of the expropriated property to its former owners. Once again Bronislovas Lubys:

[Lubys] "Those who want to reclaim their farmland should cultivate it instead of using it for speculative purposes. I think that an appropriate tax system could solve this particular problem. On the other hand [remainder of passage indistinct]"

When presenting his government's program of action in a speech before parliament the prime minister said that the litas will have to be introduced as soon as possible, but only when the economy had been (?somewhat) stabilized. [passage indistinct]

Mr. Lubys said that his government will take [words indistinct] steps trying to persuade the population about how important it was for Lithuania to have its national currency. The Lubys-led government remains a staunch supporter of the International Monetary Fund and will do its utmost to honor all the signed agreements. During the next month's meeting with IMF officials Mr. Lubys will try to negotiate certain privileges.

[Lubys] "Well, it might happen that we will successfully cross the river if we keep to the provisions of the memorandum. But we cannot [words indistinct]. So I think we have to find some [word indistinct] things that we could hold on which will make the crossing easier."

At the end of the interview that the Lithuanian prime minister, Mr. Lubys, kindly granted to Radio Vilnius, he was asked about the stand with respect to the future Lithuanian external broadcasting which has been seriously threatened due to the enormous rise in cost as well as Ukraine's refusal to rent its transmitters to Lithuania.

We shall find means, the Lithuanian prime minister said, to ensure Radio Vilnius broadcasts in the future.

In conclusion the Lithuanian premier, Mr. Bronislovas Lubys, expressed best wishes for the New Year to all the listeners of Radio Vilnius around the world.

Lubys Wants To Meet With Chernomyrdin in Near Future

OW3112171192 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1606 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Lithuanian Prime Minister Bronislavas Lubys is going to meet with his Russian counterpart Viktor Chernomyrdin and other Russian government officials in early January in order to expedite the signing of a free trade agreement with Russia.

In an interview for the "RESPUBLIKA", head of the Lithuanian government said he had sent to Russia's new premier the protocol which was not signed during the meeting in early November with the package of other economic documents.

The free trade agreement between Russia and Lithuania was not signed in November due to some controversy in regards to customs duties for some of the commodities and other free trade components.

Minister, Former Premier Assess 1993 Economic Situation

OW0201163293 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1512 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text]

Lithuanian Economics Minister Offers a Pessimistic Forecast for 1993...

In an interview with national radio, Lithuanian Minister of Economics Julius Veselka has wished the new year were no worse than 1992.

The Minister is confident that no effort by Lithuania's new government will improve the economic situation as early as this year. He feels that this year the economic situation will at best stabilize.

In Veselka's view, neither economic stabilization nor new taxation programs will work in Lithuania, unless Lithuania introduces a currency unit of its own.

...But Former Prime Minister Seems Full of Optimism

Lithuania's former Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius predicts that the national economic reform will, on the whole, be realized by the end of next summer.

In the newspaper LIETUVOS AIDAS, Vagnorius says the financial situation in farming will improve once Lithuania does away with farm-processing monopolies. He hopes competitive free market relations will bring about change even before the sowing campaign unfolds in the countryside.

If, early this year, Lithuania replaces its makeshift money with a stable currency unit, to be known as the Lita, and keeps a check on the emission of new bills, it may reduce to a minimum the growth of prices on its marketplace and, says Vagnorius, bring the inflation rate down to a monthly 1.5 to 2 percent by early summer.

Citing Lithuanian and foreign experts, the former Prime Minister says that if the present government makes no serious mistakes, the people's real incomes will start growing, as of next February or March, by 5 to 6 percent a month. That means, says Vagnorius, that the people's earnings and pension benefits will be growing faster than prices on the domestic market.

In Vagnorius' view, industrial stabilization may be expected as early as this spring and early next summer Lithuania may hope for industrial recovery.

Politicians Preparing for Presidential Election

OW0201162593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1511 GMT 2 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In spite of the New Year celebrations, Lithuania keeps working for its main political event of 1993—presidential elections which have been slated for next February 14.

Lithuania's acting president, the leader of the ruling Democratic Labor Party Algirdas Brazauskas and teaching economist Dr. Kazimieras Antanavicius have already made formal moves to register as presidential nominees with the national electoral commission.

Whether the leader of the parliamentary opposition Vytautas Landsbergis and Lithuania's Ambassador to the United States Stasys Lozoraitis will run for the presidency, remains a question, even though the two men, too, seem likely choices for the office.

And the position of the centrist-oriented political parties and movements remains, on the whole, unclear, even though the Chairman of the Lithuanian Liberal Union Vytautas Radzvilas has declared, in a national radio broadcast, that the more people are running for presidency, the higher Brazauskas' chances to win the presidential mandate even in the first round of the election race. According to Radzvilas, the right-wing forces have failed to nominate such a generally acceptable figure as Stasys Lozoraitis. For Lozoraitis to score success, vigorous action must have been taken way ago [as received].

Radzvilas is confident that besides his ability to unify Lithuania, Lozoraitis boasts qualities of a modern-day politician, while both Algirdas Brazauskas and Vytautas Landsbergis belong in an epoch that is fading, however slowly, into oblivion.

The leader of the centrist-oriented Movement for National Progress Egidijus Klumbis has declared, in a radio broadcast, that the Movement will throw its weight behind a legally elected president if he shows due respect of the national constitution and works to promote the real independence of the Lithuanian republic. Klumbis said, however, a recent conference of his Movement avoided mentioning specific names.

Lozoraitis on Possible Bid

OW0301154193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1431 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In a Friday [1 January] night interview for the Lithuanian national television, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Lithuanian Republic to the United States, Stasys Lozoraitis, said he was still undecided in regards to his participation in the presidential race this year. He would make the final decision, he indicated, only after he met with representatives of all the political parties and movements in the republic.

Mr. Lozoraitis' appearance on the Lithuanian TV, however, was received by most viewers as his program statement. The 68-year-old diplomat, who has stayed in the West after the Second World War, said in that regard, "I am not a candidate of any party, for I am an independent candidate".

Mr. Lozoraitis emphasized that his objective would be "to adjust the republic's political life and enhance democratic principles and conciliation". In his words, the new president would have to assume responsibility for "constitutional rights, national independence and normal democratic setting".

In characterizing the current situation in the republic, Mr. Lozoraitis said, "Lithuania is going through a very strenuous time of its history". In his words, the situation was especially dramatic in agriculture and even "tragic" in industry. In summation, he expressed hope that "this strenuous period would short and as soft as possible".

Parties Reach Decision

LD0301221593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 3 Jan 93

[Text] A joint conference has been held by political parties in Vilnius to discuss the issue of the presidential elections. The representatives from the following political parties took part: the Lithuanian Democratic Party, the Lithuanian Christian Democratic Party, the Independence Party, the National Union, the Green Party, the Citizens' Charter, the Union of the Sajudis, the Political Deportees and Prisoners, and the Union of Political Prisoners.

A resolution was adopted at the conference, expressing a decision to take part in the 14 March presidential elections and to make efforts to ensure that the elections are properly conducted, although the law on presidential elections in the Republic of Lithuania which has been adopted makes it possible for the elections essentially to be organized by one political force which has the majority in the Seimas.

A joint statement was signed by the representatives of the political parties and organizations concerning the presidential candidacy. The statement says: We political parties and organizations, having signed the protocol of 25 December 1992 concerning joint actions in the elections of the president of the Republic of Lithuania, declare that Vytautas Landsbergis is our most acceptable candidate of for the post of president. For the sake of easing the confrontation in society, we support the idea that Vytautas Landsbergis should nominate another person who is faithful to the independence of Lithuania. One such person is Stasys Lozoraitis.

We authorize Vytautas Landsbergis to negotiate with Stasys Lozoraitis concerning his possible running for the presidential elections.

Landsbergis Refuses To Run

LD0301221193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2150 GMT 3 Jan 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius January 3 TASS—Honourary chairman of the "Sajudis" Movement and leader of the opposition in the Lithuanian parliament Vytautas Landsbergis refused on Sunday to vie for the republican presidency and called on his major opponent Algirdas Brazauskas to follow suit.

Speaking on national television, Landsbergis called on Brazauskas, former communist head and the leader of the ruling Democratic Labour Party, to drop his candidacy for the Lithuanian president in favour of the independent candidate Stasys Lozoraitis, 68, the Lithuanian ambassador to the United States.

Landsbergis said that Lozoraitis is the candidate who may become the political figure "uniting the nation and helping to avoid confrontation in society".

He accused the Democratic Labour Party, which had won the parliamentary elections in the Baltic state, of resorting to former communist methods in discrediting him. "The campaign of slander and hatred unleashed against me by the Democratic Labour Party both in the past and at present does not allow me to participate in election campaign as a candidate for presidency," Landsbergis said, adding that he hopes that Lithuania, which had received big aid from international programmes and major Western loans thanks to his work as the leader of the country, will not "become a debtor of Russia".

Landsbergis was Lithuanian parliament speaker until the "Sajudis" Movement completely lost in parliamentary elections to the Democratic Labour Party.

Lozoraitis has lived most of his life in the United States and worked as a senior diplomat representing Lithuania as the USA continued to maintain diplomatic relations with former Lithuanian authorities after 1940. After Landsbergis won independence for his country from the former Soviet Union, Lozoraitis was appointed extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of Lithuania to the United States.

Government To Levy New Taxes for Energy Resources

WS3112130592 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1326 GMT 30 Dec 92

["New Taxes for Energetic Resources"—ELTA NEWS BULLETIN headline; from ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 154]

[Text] 30 December 1992—From January 1 all the industrial enterprises will have to pay more for gas, heating and electricity. This decision has been adopted by the Ministry of Energetics, the reason of it is the real prices for energetic resources and the critical financial situation in Lithuania. Only for gas suppliers the Ministry owes nearly 5 billion coupons. According to the Minister of Energetics Leonas Asmantas, this decision is not a surprise for many industrial enterprises. All of them have their hard currency fund which will enable them to settle the necessary accounts.

State Oil Enterprise Resumes Operation

WS3112130692 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1326 GMT 30 Dec 92

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 154]

[Text] 30 December 1992—After the month break the Mazeikai state oil processing enterprise "Nafta" (Oil) is working again. The Russian company "Baltneftegaz" has started supplying 150 thousand tons of oil to the Lithuanian enterprise's tankages. It will be enough until mid January.

20 percent of oil products will be realized in the Lithuanian market, other part will reach the Kaliningrad region and "Baltneftegaz".

Head of the Mazeikiai enterprise hopes that the firm will have enough work after the middle of January as well. The other Russian firm "Lucoil" is ready to supply 100 thousand tons of oil. The enterprise is still not able to receive crude oil from Tatarstan (the agreement on the supply of crude oil to Lithuania has been reached during the visit of the Lithuanian Government delegation to Tatarstan). The enterprise needs 7 million dollars for the construction of the necessary railway which enables it to receive crude oil from Tatarstan. If the Mazeikiai enterprise succeeds in getting the money, the Tatarstan firm will start supplying crude oil at the end of 1993.

Jurgelis Confirmed as New National Security Chief

WS3112130392 Vilnius ELTA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1326 GMT 30 Dec 92

[From ELTA "NEWS BULLETIN" No. 154]

[Text] 30 December 1992—On the recommendation of Acting President Algirdas Brazauskas, the Seimas has voted 70 for, 16 against with 2 abstentions to endorse the ex-chairman of the parliamentary Civil Rights and Ethnic Affairs Committee and member of the Committee for the Investigation of the ex-USSR KGB Activities Jurgis Jurgelis as Head of the National Security of the Republic of Lithuania.

Acting President has also nominated Vidas Kondrotas, 39, Candidate of Economy, for the position of the Head of the State inspection. Since 1990 V. Kondrotas has worked in the capacity of senior inspector in the Department of State Control.

Former Security Chief To Expose Mafia Connections

OW3112171292 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1607 GMT 31 Dec 92

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The ex-chairman of the Lithuanian Security Service, Petras Plumpa, who has been heading the Service for the last four months, claims that mafia has infiltrated all spheres of life in Lithuania.

In his assessment, the "tentacles" of just one of such criminal groups have already reached the republic's parliament, government, municipal power offices, courts, procurator's offices, customs, mass media, banks, exchanges, oil refineries, "Lietuvos avialinijos" air company, and the Russian Army command in Lithuania. According to the Security Service, there are more that ten criminal groups of this kind in Lithuania.

Mr Plumpa maintains that at present the republic does not have to deal with a threat from the left or from the right as much as it should with an "enormous threat" "from the third party"—the mafia. Speaking at a briefing staged by the republic's parliamentary opposition, he pointed to the need to start combating organized crime without delay, because "it would be too late to do it in a year" when "the processes go out control".

Mr Plumpa also indicated that the Lithuanian Security Service has certain information pertaining to the distribution of spheres of influence throughout the new independent states by Russian criminal world's, where law enforcement systems are known to be still too weak. The "Baltics", in Mr Plumpa's words, "have long been divided". He claimed that it was nothing other than the "invisible power" that obstructed the construction in Lithuania of an oil terminal, blocked oil production efforts on the Lithuanian territory, and derailed many other initiatives.

The former chief of the Lithuanian Security Service said that given additional affidavit, legal charges could have been brought against certain persons, while the Security Service needs to extend its staff and acquire updated technical capabilities in order to provide solid evidence against them.

At present, the Lithuanian Security Service has only 190 staff and field officers, with its annual budget comprising 15 Mn [million] Lithuanian coupons, which sum is "barely sufficient for salaries". The equipment used by the Service, in the words of Mr Plumpa, does not even enable them to tap a telephone line without the Procurator's sanction.

In characterizing the current inferior state of affairs in the Special Service, its former chief called it "impotent", attributing it to the insufficient funding of the Service by the state.